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15 August 1984

WEST EUROPE REPORT

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DEN UYL: PVDA TO RENEGOTIATE CRUISE TREATY

The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 9 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] The Hague, July 9--Opposition leader Joop den Uyl warned at the weekend that if a new labour cabinet comes into power at the next general election, it would 'renegotiate' any treaty on cruise missiles with the United States agreed by then.

The Dutch Labour Party has declared itself opposed to nuclear deployment in the Netherlands, and strongly opposed the cabinet's controversial decision on the issue when it went through Parliament last month.

The decision, which was accepted by a narrow parliamentary majority means a final 'yes or no' on whether the Dutch will agree to site NATO cruise missiles under the 1979-deploy and talk decision will not be decided until November 1, 1985. It will be dependent on whether the Soviet Union continues to deploy SS-20 missiles.

The Dutch are hoping that the U.S. and Soviet Union will by then have reached agreement on medium-range missiles, and have said that, following discussion with the U.S., they will accept a 'fair share' of missiles laid down in any such treaty.

Den Uyl said however that he felt the missiles question would be 'open-ended' in any coalition agreement, and if a treaty did exist at the time of the next election, a Labour cabinet would certainly want to renegotiate it.

Formation Talks

The Labour leader said he did not believe his party's stance would put them out of the running in efforts to form a new cabinet after the next elections.

The missiles would not be sited in the Netherlands before the end of 1988 at the earliest, he added.

He did think that there was a good chance the elections would not be held until 1986, after the Lubbers cabinet had run its full four-year term.

He said Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers had been 'lucky' to come to power at a time when the economy was beginning to recover, and that his Christian Democratic Party (CEA) would want to exploit this to the full.

The Liberals (VVD), junior partners in the present coalition government, would also prefer to run full term, as opinion polls showed them losing support, Den Uyl said.

The Labour leader is 65 next month and due to retire. He said a speedy solution to the question of who will succeed him was necessary.

CSO: 3600/46

COINCIDING VIEWS ON U.S.-GREECE RELATIONS

Luxury of Second Front Unaffordable

Nicosia 0 AGON in Greek 11 Jul 84 p 1

/Commentary by "The Observer": "Cautious Confrontation. Let Not the Greek-American Crisis Worsen"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ Regardless of the fact that the greater part of the responsibility for the upsetting of Greek-American relations rests on the official American side, nevertheless we do believe that every effort must be made to prevent any further deterioration but, to the contrary, to create a favorable atmosphere to improve these relations.

/Not, of course, at any price./

/Not through the sacrifice of national interests. Nor with the debasement of national self-respect./

/But exactly so that national interests might be safeguarded and so that national self-respect might be protected./

It is a fact that at this moment there is an /American provocation to the detriment of Hellenism./ /This passage in slantlines printed in all caps./

The government representative in Athens clearly explained in what this provocation consists.

/The United States has overequipped Turkey with weapons, it has encouraged their expansionist ambitions in the Aegean and Cyprus, it has not pressured Turkey to see reason, it has upset the balance of power in the region, it has assumed a hostile attitude vis-a-vis Greek national interests and it does not intend to understand that every independent nation, large or small, has the right to determine its own foreign policy in accordance with the wishes of its people alone./

Unfortunately, the Americans do not intend to understand that Greece is no longer their protectorate or satellite and they do not have the judgement to realize or the courage to acknowledge that the course now being taken by the Greek people is exactly the consequence of their murderous policy against Greek national interests and the injustices and sufferings that this policy has brought on to Hellenism.

Therefore, American responsibility for the deterioration of Greek-American relations is complete and indisputable.

/Also indisputable is the realization that the Americans have the ways and means to provoke three times as much suffering on Hellenism as they have up to now./

/Also indisputable is also the realization that at this time when Hellenism has an open front with the Turks it does not have the luxury to open a second front with a superpower on which the course and outcome of national issues mainly depend./

These two facts are not said out of fear nor must they be interpreted as meaning an exhortation to make us rush into reviving our relations with the United States at any cost, even through the sacrifice of our national rights and national self-respect.

If that is what the United States wants and seeks, of course, it should not expect how it will be offered.

/We propose an honest and sincere dialogue with the United States to settle differences. A dialogue of equal partners./

The United States must understand the concerns and agony of Hellenism against the expressed aggressiveness of Turkey.

It must respect the right of the Greek people to draft that policy that they believe serves their national interests.

It must, through actions, be convincing that it is not conspiring to the detriment of Hellenism.

And, finally, it must understand that while Greece needs America, Greece's importance to America is no means less.

/At the same time, however, we too must learn from the events of the past, to realize certain grim realities and to understand ourselves reasonably and without excessiveness and extremist positions...../

U.S. Attacked, Papandreou Warned

Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 11 Jul 84 p 3

/Commentary by Savvas Iakovidis: "The Pistol and the Rustic Shoe"; words enclosed in slantlines printed in all caps/

/Text/ The United States is suffering from the gigantism syndrome. It does not observe the other remaining states from the height of Fifth Avenue but from the dizzying height of the Empire State Building. It has an /erroneous/ picture of the national pride, self-respect and intelligence of other peoples. Although it claims to be the leader and the protective power of the free world, as a rule its policy and behavior differs little from that of the Russian bear: Heartless, cynical, /arrogant/ and provocatively irrational. It is not at all fortuitous that now, after the hopes of all of mankind had entrusted to the United States,

that superpower has succeeded in accomplishing the impossible: Not to be supportable to, not to say despised by, even its friends and allies.

An orchestrated effort to slander and disparage Greece has recently been undertaken through published reports, statements by the very [words missing] Bert, hearsay, etc. The Greek prime minister is charged with being pro-Soviet and anti-American, while it is left to be understood that he is encouraging international terrorism! Greece has repeatedly sacrificed itself for the West, while the "valuable" ally Turkey was shining its weapons and played the /dirty/ game of neutrality and waited to be rewarded, something that did happen, from the sacrifices of others.

All Greek governments, from 1945 to 1981, have been rightist. They did not disavow nor did they oppose the orders of the western alliance. And yet the West, and particularly the United States, behaved /disgracefully/, inconsiderately and provocatively vis-a-vis its perhaps most trusted ally.

With regard to the Cyprus issue, Washington did not play a clean game. Together with Britain and Turkey it is responsible for letting Cyprus reach the stage where the Turkish invasion and the de facto partition took place. And now when Mr Papandreu for the first time dared raise the stature of Greece, the cowboys of Washington pulled out their pistols. They want to nearly dictate the policy Greece should follow. Their behavior is astonishing. But it is also indicative of a mentality that unfortunately Hellenism has not yet comprehended.

Papandreu has repeatedly been strongly criticized by this column. We do not agree with many of his positions in foreign policy, especially with regard to the Cyprus issue. /We have disagreed/ strongly with his rash, eastern, pro-Soviet, Third World-Qadhdhafist overtures. However, he is the elected prime minister of Greece. He is invested with a popular mandate. It is not, therefore, possible for any insensitive or insignificant American bureaucrat to open his mouth and have the nerve to have everybody stand at attention.

The day before yesterday, Greece sharply answered the American intervention. A new period of crisis is once again beginning in Greek-American relations. And when? Now when Hellenism needs to muster its forces, to concentrate its attention and to see how it would resolve its national problem, the Cyprus issue.

We do not know where and to what this new crisis in Greek-American relations will lead. It is self-evident that the crisis has an influence on Cyprus too. However, let Andreas pay attention: There has been talk about reprisals, about the closing down of American bases, about a review of relations between the two countries, etc. These are /serious/ matters. But Papandreu should remember the Karamanlis precedent. After the Turkish invasion of Cyprus Karamanlis left NATO. From a moral and sentimental aspect his decision was a correct one. From a political aspect it was /erroneous./ When to the east of Greece there is Turkey, which is considered by the United States as an "important" ally and which is oversupplied with weapons, it would be most imprudent not to take this factor into consideration. Mr Papandreu should also pay attention to something else that is very important: Unfortunately or fortunately, the solution to the Cyprus issue /also/ depends on the United States. And when the American holds a pistol and the Greek wears only rustic shoes there sometimes have to be wiser second thoughts and actions....

AKEL REJECTS PROPOSAL TO SCUTTLE MINIMUM PROGRAM

Nicosia KHARAVGI in Greek 6 Jul 84 p 3

/From the "Views and Comments" column: "Who Needs Forgiveness for Sins?"

/Text/ In an arrogant manner and with the greatest superficiality and unprincipled disdain of every democratic principle, the correspondent of the newspaper O AGON calls upon AKEL to reject "Democratic Cooperation" and its "minimum program" so as "to pardon recent sins" and so as to promote dialogue for cooperation with all parties.

Using the same anti-democratic mentality and logic, it is possible that tomorrow this same correspondent would ask that AKEL and the Left reject their program and constitution or their principles so that "national unity" or patriotic cooperation might succeed. Besides, it would not be the first time in Cyprus or elsewhere that the extreme Right would ask this of the leftist parties or leftist organizations. This is the well-known "traditional" mentality of the extreme Right that has always hindered and still hinders patriotic cooperation. No bourgeois-democratic minimum program and no DIKO-AKEL cooperation in the presidential elections.

The arrogant correspondent of O AGON must not forget that Democratic Cooperation and its minimum program was approved and adopted by the vote of the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people. In democratic elections the people gave us the majority in the House and the authority of the president of the republic in Democratic Cooperation.

Who does the pseudonymous correspondent of O AGON think he is to ask AKEL (and DIKO assuredly) to reject what the people approved and adopted with an overwhelming majority? We, for example, have never asked the political forces that were defeated in both the parliamentary and presidential elections to reject their principles and program. This anti-democratic condition would be impermissible for the attainment of patriotic unity. Even if a party has gained only 1.5 percent of the vote it has a right to maintain its principles.

However, the O AGON correspondent did not ask nor does he ask any other party or political group to reject their principles and programs in order to bring about unity, patriotic cooperation or to strengthen the Internal Front. How, therefore, can he conceive of being able to place such conditions on AKEL, the Movement of the Left and Democratic Cooperation?

The only title O AGON has historically-speaking is the support it gave to the treacherous fascist junta-led coup d'etat as soon as it was proclaimed. It is, therefore, O AGON that needs "to forgive sins" and not AKEL or the Left that have always worked for normalcy, democracy, peace and progress for the Cypriot Republic.

5671

CSO: 3521/308

POLITICAL

CYPRUS

BRIEFS

FORTHCOMING IRANAIR FLIGHTS--IRANAIR will shortly begin flights to Cyprus. According to our information, IRANAIR is currently negotiating with Cyprus Airways. It is expected that the agreement will be announced very soon. According to the same information, IRANAIR's schedule will be Tehran-Pafos-London. According to all indications there will be quite a few flights.
/Text/ [Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 8 Jul 84 p 1] 5671

CSO: 3521/308

ANXIETY, EMOTIONALISM, DISTRUST OF REASON MARKED AMONG YOUTH

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann: "Disbelief in Reason---a Change in Values as Exemplified by Standards of Rational Behavior"]

[Text] The Generation Gap---Greatest in the FRG

Question: In which categories do/did you and your parents hold similar views? (a list is presented)

<u>Category</u>	<u>United States %</u>	<u>Europe %</u>	<u>FRG %</u>
Moral conceptions	84	63	49
Attitudes toward religion	74	56	47
Attitudes toward other people	70	55	44
Political views	48	36	28
Attitude toward sexuality	41	23	13
	317	233	181
In none of these categories	X	10	9
Do not know	9	11	14

The catch phrase "no future" is unknown among American students. A study of its genesis would be rewarding. This catch phrase does not denote any general mood in the industrial states, but rather a specifically German situation. A specifically German situation--one should not use such a characterization carelessly. It is easy to fall prey to the inclination to generalize on one's own situation or conversely to consider it as being particularly incomparable. Today the comparative international polls which are being conducted more and more frequently--which have identical questionnaires as far as this is humanly possible linguistically--give us new ways of recognizing, and even of being forced to recognize, special national situations, including in areas where we were not expecting this at all.

Such an internationally comparative poll was made on the subject of value systems at the beginning of the 1980's with a questionnaire drawn up in Allensbach; so far, this has been given in 26 countries of the world, including in Europe, Asia, and North and South America. In this poll an

attempt was also made to determine the closeness and remoteness between the generations of parents and their children. To that end, one of the questions asked was: "In what categories do/did you and your parents have similar views?" Here five different categories were asked about: Moral conceptions, attitudes toward religion, attitudes toward other people, political views, and attitude toward sexuality.

When one compares the answers from the adult German population (FRG citizens from 16 years old upward) with the average of the answers from all the countries of the European Community including the FRG and with the answers from the people of the United States, one perceives that: In each of the five categories, the agreement between the parents' and the childrens' generations is the least in the FRG (see table).

A closeness of value concepts between the generation of parents and that of their children indicates security, while remoteness signifies uncertainty. It also signifies that other influences on value concepts can more easily penetrate into the vacuum which is produced because of the distance between the generations of parents and children. Influences from school and college, from the media, from one's "peers," from those of the same age.

I would like to describe a crucial experience. Curiously enough, even when a person has to work incessantly with statistics, such experiences are not less important, but rather the reverse: With such crucial experiences a person suddenly understands better how the statistical findings can be generalized. In Mainz I had invited into my home quite a few students who had distinguished themselves in a proseminar. These students argued with one other about natural science and nuclear power. One of the students set out his views in a knowledgeable, earnest, and thoughtful way. Then another student called out to him: "How can you talk so rationally about such an important question!" A crucial experience pointing to a change in values. Reason and factual knowledge--not a positive, but a negative value.

For a number of years it has been possible to observe how a distrust of reason has also paralyzed scientific policy consultation. Superficially considered, what we have here is the prevailing of the thought that when there are differences of opinion, not only the one side but also the other side must be heard. But in fact on the one side at present are scholars and researchers who have proved themselves through qualifying scientifically--such as, for example, through habilitation [postdoctoral lecturing qualification] and appointments--against whom anti-experts are pitted on the other side. Such a pattern can be seen in the example of the Inquiry Commission of the Bundestag on the Future of Nuclear Power in the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's.

The association by Habermass of perception and interest from the 1960's seems to have totally destroyed the expectation of and demand for a self-critical, self-refining capacity on the part of reason. Not in the sphere of science, but at least in the sphere of politics, where evidently there is no longer any confidence that scientific findings are governed above all by reason, but rather the belief is that they are governed by a biased

consciousness or even by unconscious interests. Under these assumptions, theses and countertheses do not have their roots in different axioms and hypotheses which are to be rationally examined, but have them instead in contrary interests. If for a certain scientific position one does not find any counterposition which is defended by recognized scientists, then if one is an inquiry commission one must turn to other persons for the sake of "impartiality" and "symmetry," and even, for example--as the Inquiry Commission on the Future of Nuclear Power did--to an undergraduate in physics, who was summoned to appear as a speaker.

How are political figures to make decisions when they are confronted in this way with opinions and counteropinions of experts? It is obvious that by such means any scientific consultation on policy on the part of inquiry commissions of the Bundestag degenerates into sheer absurdity, and that thereby scientific policy consultation is discredited: Because the effect on the persons advised is resignation, which reaches as far as the leading circles of policy-making.

It becomes clear that this resignation subsequently acts in turn on the broad population, when it is noticed that even journalists who just try to report on the results of such commissions only end up looking confused. A short time ago the editor in charge of environmental questions of a leading German economic newspaper said: "Enough security, not enough security--it is evidently impossible to find out which is the case."

With their criticism of authority, the students of the 1968 generation who sensed behind the robes of their professors only the fustiness of a thousand years also gave the impression that they were looking for more meaning and reason. The criticism of hierarchic structures and traditional authoritative powers, it was said, was directed against every sort of presumption, however institutionalized; it was not directed against rationality, but merely against irrational, outdated traditions, which would restrict the free play of rationality.

From today's vantage point it can be seen that this criticism of authority by no means only wanted to create elbow-room for reasonable, objective, unceremoniously rational discussions. From the very beginning the reviling of professors was directed above all against that expertise which was then and is today demanded of this professional group to a particularly great extent. If at present there is very little talk any more about an antiauthoritarian movement, one can still clearly infer from the results which are observable from opinion polls that the movement did not just fizzle out but has successfully discredited expertise per se, with this extending into political spheres where one would scarcely want to admit its existence. Symptomatically summarized, one can see what has happened and what is still happening by the loss of prestige of professors and scientists in general. For example, in an Allensbach poll conducted in 1972 some 40 percent of the population said that they had a special respect for nuclear physicists, but in 1981 only 26 percent said this.

When psychologically inspired observers of the goings-on at the universities thought they were discerning something like a rebellion of sons

against fathers in the attacks on professors and in the strikes against courses of the late 1960's, they were right in this at least to the extent that it was not only title and gown which were being aimed at here. The antiauthoritarian movement had begun to develop in a much broader way. As is known, another motto went: "Do not trust anyone over 30." In reality it was a matter of forcing further apart the gap between the generations which is natural up to a certain point. The international polls taken at the beginning of the 1980's showed that this had been successful.

This gap between the generations is the reason why in Germany a particular political formation has developed, a home-grown youth party called the Greens, 60 percent of whose adherents consist of people under 30 years old. In addition, 60 percent of its adherents are not married, and among Greens under 30 years old every second person is a student, undergraduate, or apprentice. This kind of party has never existed before in any parliament in the world.

Animosity to technology is another characteristic phenomenon. Technology is international, therefore animosity to technology must also be international. In general this is how the conclusion roughly runs, and one is surprised to see that there is so little resistance in France to the use of nuclear power. The technological revolution is international, and therefore the gap between the generations really ought also to be growing greater and greater in a similar way in all the industrial countries. But the international public-opinion data show that this is not the case, that what we have is a German specialty.

What is going on here can be interpreted correctly only when one has realized that this is a confinement in time and space to our own country. Developments which are common to all industrial countries in the fields of science, economy, and technology engender social changes which cross over borders. Artificially generated social changes can be recognized by the fact that they stop at national or regional borders and the fact that one can also precisely discern time boundaries. Up to the mid-1960's, we in the FRG had no unusual estrangement between the generations; this already makes it unlikely that it could be a matter of the direct effect of a conflict between the generation which has grown up after 1945 and the generation which lived through the Third Reich as adults. And just on the other side of our borders, for example in Austria, this abnormal distance between the generations does not exist; there they are in agreement politically even today to the same extent that we were in the mid-1960's.

But what is the meaning of this term "artificially generated"? Who is likely to have an interest in seeing that authority falls into disrepute in Germany, that in particular the young people declare their distrust of reason? Before one can answer these questions he must seek to clarify what is really meant after all by a distrust of reason and what the upshot of this is. In a telecast on the just concluded Munich Catholic Congress, a young Catholic woman made the charge in a talk with Hans Maier and Hanna Laurien that politicians in general showed "so little feeling" with respect to the problems of peace and concerning nuclear missiles, and that everything always sounded so very rational, that no young person could

identify himself with these. Or a recollection from the 1981 Protestant Church Congress in Hamburg. There, one student said point-blank to then Federal Chancellor Schmidt: "I am afraid of your politics."

This is the keyword. When there is a devaluation of reason, fear can gain ground particularly easily. Rational reasons no longer can be pitted against it. Fear merits special attention when one wants to arrive at an understanding of the dangers to a society, to a country. The fact that fear paralyzes and weakens has been known for a long time; observations extending into animal-behavior research show that the generation of fear in the other is part of the initial phase of a strategy of aggression.

Fear reduces the faculty of judgment and the power of differentiation. This leads to an increasingly greater tolerance for positions which are really incompatible with one another, which are contradictory in themselves. The contradictions with which the population comes to terms are pronounced above all where the battle for public opinion is the most intense. Still in mind are the inconsistent results of the sample polls conducted in the summer and autumn of 1983 on the issue of the NATO arms buildup. These were not uncertain results or results which conflicted because of the different enthusiasms inspired by the particular clients--rather, the population really was thinking inconsistently in this way.

One can show this especially well by the example of the defense policy and the questions of East-West relations. As another example I remember clearly the results of an Allensbach poll conducted just in the spring of 1984. We raised the question in two different versions, so that the results would not depend on a quite definite wording or a specific grammar. But the two questions lead to entirely consistent results. The one version of the question went: "Although of course it is surely difficult to say, still: Can anyone really espouse communism and democracy at the same time, or is it impossible for him to do this?" The second version went: "...Can anyone really be a communist and a democrat at the same time, or is it impossible for him to be such?" The combined results appeared as follows: 21 percent said "it is possible for him." And 55 percent believed: "This is impossible for him." The remainder, 24 percent, was undecided.

Now if one compares the generations, the following appears: Whereas of older people more than 59 years of age only 10 percent believed that one could espouse communism and democracy at the same time and 62 percent saw these two political principles as incompatible, 28 percent of those younger than 30 years believed: "One can espouse communism and democracy at the same time." In this case, only 46 percent objected by saying: "This cannot be done."

With distrust of reason and emotionalism, it is happening that rationality--above all in the political sphere--has gotten caught up in an ominous conflict with emotionality. Certainly there has always been this conflict and this tension between the generations. I remember in this connection an auto-biographical note by the theologian Karl Rahner, who died just recently, in which it is said: "In younger years there is an enthusiasm of an emotional sort; when one becomes older, a different

attitude based on experience gains ground." When this natural tension between the generations is artificially increased, it becomes possible to create uncertainty in a society, to paralyze thinking and even defense preparedness, because no longer can knowledge and experience be transmitted without difficulty.

Such results suggest a conclusion. In a time when a fear of manipulation is so generally widespread, this amounts to a challenge to muster up all the capacities of reason so that the distrust of reason does not gain any more ground. That is, the more we rely on our feeling, the more we can be manipulated. The more capacities we develop for using our reason, the more we learn to remember, to store up and to retrieve experiences, to compare, to make distinctions, and to differentiate, the more power we have to resist manipulation.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

CENTER PARTY CONGRESS PROMOTES GREEN ISSUES, YOUNGER IMAGE

Party Leaders Speak at Congress

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 16 Jun 84 p 7

[Article by Arto Astikainen and Janne Virkkunen: "Politics of Will Marks Center Party Path"]

[Text] Savonlinna--A self-assured and combative politics of will marks the Center Party path. This is how Party Secretary Seppo Kaariainen described the foundation of future policy at the opening day of the Center Party's 60th Congress on Friday in Savonlinna.

Kaariainen's report on the past 2 years was the main event on Friday. Center Party Chairman Paavo Vayrynen will initiate the political debate of the congress today and in addition to questions of ideology he will also discuss problems relating to practical policy.

Party Secretary Kaariainen clearly delineated the Center Party from big industry, which is emphasizing competitive ability, and considers that his party survived the unmerciful pressures of recent years with honor, of which two are still on the minds of Center Party members: the presidential elections and the rise of the Conservative Party.

In Kaariainen's opinion, all of politics and the Center Party are experiencing a crisis, in which the Center Party has two choices: the wide road of a policy of submission, by which it can be acceptable to everyone, or the more demanding path of the politics of will. Kaariainen chose the latter.

To add certainty to his words, he quoted from Aleksis Kivi's "Kanerval": "What I have decided, will stand forever. The knowledge that we will always stick to our decision gives a feeling of integrity, a power that is frightful, and a countenance that will throw sparks."

Even though the party secretary is known among the rank and file as a skillful speaker, his speech to the congress did not hold the interest of the audience since the majority of the people wandered about the ice arena and the congress facilities.

Parties Urged To Turn To Self-Examination

Without hesitation Kaariainen joined the leadership of the SDP to support present policy. "This is the basis of democracy, for which we do not see any acceptable alternative."

The secretary of the Center Party urged the parties to examine themselves and from there to renew themselves. In his opinion the parties would be wise if they were to admit that the fundamental reasons for a good or bad image of one's policies lie for the most part in the policies themselves.

Kaariainen urged the parties to aim their sights on the future and also to reform political procedures. "Secrecy and cabinet politics can become a thing of the past. They should be replaced with openness even in difficult issues."

Greens Are Whistle Blowers

Kaariainen called the Greens, who have infiltrated the traditional party rank and file, whistle blowers, who make others comprehend that unrestricted development cannot continue. The actions of the Greens demonstrate a lack of confidence in the traditional parties. The secretary of the Center Party warned against underestimating the Greens. "Whoever does this, is not living this day and will not see tomorrow."

Kaariainen urged the Center Party to demonstrate its own greenness by its policies and forbid the party from succumbing to an ostensible greenness and from copying the Greens.

The secretary of the Center Party believes that most likely a decision will be made in the next 2 years as to whether or not a fifth nuclear power plant will be built in Finland.

In Kaariainen's opinion, this is also a question of the whole direction of energy and economic policy: whether to continue centralization on a path containing increasing and unknown risks or whether to turn in a healthier direction.

According to Kaariainen, the nuclear power plant decision unconditionally belongs to parliament, but this does not seem to be the case. An attempt is being made to bring about a positive nuclear power decision by pressuring decisionmakers to support the project.

Kaariainen demanded a halt to such "railroading, which is contemptuous of democracy". Parliament must be able to make its decision freely without pressure. It can also be said to the power plant people that propaganda based on glossy pictures does not work in a Finland of the mid 1980's, thundered Kaariainen.

He believes that the decision recommended by the party's policy council points to a rejection of a fifth nuclear power plant.

Kaariainen believes that even other environmental problems have become acute and already threaten the living conditions of future generations. The secretary of the Center Party accused economists, industry, and career politicians of talking only about competitive ability when the question of protecting the environment arises.

A price must be paid for a clean environment, stated Kaariainen and asked what good will competitive ability be when the environment is dead. The secretary of the Center Party also proposed a five-point environmental program, which contained an educational and training program, among other things, in addition to tough decisions for preventing environmental damage which can possibly be caused by a highly specialized and industrially managed agricultural policy.

Kaariainen made a serious appeal to the party rank and file so that approximately half of the candidates on the Center Party's lists of candidates for the October municipal elections would be women. The secretary of the Center Party emphasized the local nature of the municipal elections and considered the attempt to make the elections into general or government policy elections to be unnatural and a question of mere tactics.

Arm Twisting For Finland

Kaariainen thinks that the Center Party fared tolerably well in the parliamentary elections a year ago. The period since the elections has in his opinion been a clear-cut case of Center Party and Social Democratic arm twisting for Finland in government and parliamentary work.

The past winter and spring in Kaariainen's opinion undeniably demonstrate that the primary alternatives of Finland's policy take shape around the Center Party and the Social Democrats. The most important political result of the parliamentary elections was the poor election showing of the Conservative Party according to Kaariainen and the resulting disruption of the trend toward polarization.

The Center Party secretary believes that the position of the political center will become stronger in the future since "the traditional right and the traditional left are losing their support and the broad center, indeed divided into many factions, is receiving more and more public support".

Vayrynen Vowed Faith in Party Rank and File

Chairman Paavo Vayrynen delivered the opening speech of the Center Party congress, which was charged with rural ideology and history of the Agrarian League and in which he took a vow of faith in the couple thousand people attending the congress and expressed hope for the party's rise and increased support for the political center.

In his speech Vayrynen also considered the Greens and the Rural Party to be promoters of centrist thought.

Vayrynen raised the self-assurance of the Center Party rank and file by reminding them that the Agrarian League/Center Party has influenced the development of Finnish society as a "strong green movement" and has played a decisive role in many important national questions such as in the struggle to a form government, in the unification of a people torn asunder by the civil war, in the liberation of tenant farmers, in the housing of the landless population, and in the formation of a new foreign policy line, the Paasikivi--Kekkonen line.

Significant tasks for the Center Party did not end with these historic events according to Vayrynen. Even now the party has an exceptional national task: it must strive to build a natural and humane computer society.

Vayrynen explained this new national task of the Center Party in the following manner:

The basic livelihood of rural areas must not be forced into such a far-reaching mechanization and chemicalization that it will depopulate rural areas and congest the cities. Even otherwise, the territorial concentration of production and population should not be the goal.

The technology of a rapidly developing computer society will present new opportunities for conserving natural resources, protecting the environment, and accomplishing a decentralization. This new technology must be developed in such a way that all of society will develop in a more natural and humane manner.

"I am more convinced than ever before that the industrialization, urbanization, and centralization of society carried to an extreme degree are detrimental from the point of view of people and nature," stated Vayrynen.

Even Greens Are Members of The Political Center

Vayrynen demonstrated with historical facts and the Center Party's support figures that the Center Party has not been a "narrow class party", only a promoter of the peasant cause. If the Center Party were only a class party, its support would have fallen off drastically as the producer population declined.

However, according to Vayrynen, the party's support has remained "very stable" and he believes that after "the extremely difficult situation of the presidential elections" the Center Party will be able to increase its support in the manner of the 1980 municipal elections.

According to Vayrynen, more and more people understand that a continuing aspiration to increase the production and consumption of commodities is in an irreconcilable conflict with the lasting capacity of the environment. Therefore, support for the philosophy of the political center has increased. "It is partially channeled in the direction of the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] and the Greens, but we have also received our share," says Vayrynen.

A Subdued Reception

In his opening speech Vayrynen by-passed the questions of today's politics completely and he also did not attempt to criticize the other parties. The time

for those kinds of speeches will begin on Saturday, on the second day of the congress.

Vayrynen's ideological deliberation did not particularly electrify those attending the Center Party congress. The chairman was not interrupted by even one round of applause and even the final applause was short and indifferent.

However, the paucity of applause does not threaten Vayrynen's position as chairman. He will be unanimously elected to the party leadership for another 2-year term.

The Center Party's three current vice-chairmen, Ahti Pekkala, Marjatta Vaananen, and Taisto Tahkamaa, also had good chances for retaining their positions at the beginning of the congress since support for the four new vice-chairmanship candidates primarily seeking Tahkamaa's chair has been dispersed throughout the Center Party's districts. Vice Speaker of Parliament Mikko Pesala is the most serious threat to Tahkamaa's position.

The delegates from Savo and Northern Karelia attempted to combine forces on Friday to support Savonlinna farmer Markku Lehtosaari, but they did not succeed.

On Saturday in Savonlinna each district of the Center Party will convene faction meetings, in which the position of each district on the chairmanship question will be determined. A general debate on leadership choices and other issues will be conducted at the same time on Saturday and the party leadership will be elected on Sunday morning.

Party Secretary Seppo Kaariainen is presently the most secure in the Center Party leadership. No one in the party has even thought about replacing him and there has already been talk about Kaariainen as a possible successor to Vayrynen as chairman.

Approximately 1,500 official delegates and 1,000 other people attended the Center Party congress on Friday. There were about 30 Liberals attending for the first time as delegates.

Two-Year Ban on Nuclear Power

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Jun 84 p 7

[Article: "Eight Candidates for Vice-Chairmanship Race"]

[Text] Savonlinna--On Saturday the Center Party decided to oppose the acquisition of a new nuclear power plant for the next 2 years. The decision to close the nuclear power plant gate was arrived at unanimously and almost without debate at the Center Party congress in Savonlinna.

Chairman Paavo Vayrynen said that the decision was an accommodation of two positions, of which one supported an outright ban on new power plants and the other supported a postponement of a decision.

Vayrynen said that he supported the postponement of a decision, but a unanimous decision was possible since the decision concerns only the initial term of the congress or 2 years.

There was also unanimity in the congress on the fact that the decision to order a new power plant will not become timely for another 2 years. The Center Party's nuclear power policy will be debated again in 1986 in Lappeenranta, stated Vayrynen.

According to the surprising decision now adopted by the party congress, "There is no need for the construction of new nuclear power plants in the opinion of the Center Party". The Center Party also demanded that the government present a nuclear energy bill to parliament as soon as possible.

Opposition to nuclear power has increased in the Center Party from year to year in spite of the fact that the state has ordered power plants from the Soviet Union. Similar pressures are also being experienced in other parties.

A general debate lasting more than 6 hours was conducted on Saturday at the Center Party congress, a debate in which the present party leadership beginning with Paavo Vayrynen was thoroughly praised. Vayrynen, who is accustomed to criticism, was not directly accused of anything by anyone.

Eight candidates announced themselves for the vice-chairmanship race. The present vice-chairmen, Ahti Pekkala, Marjatta Vaananen, and Taisto Tahkamaa will probably retain their positions in the vote on Sunday morning even though a young farmer by the name of Martti Pura represents a serious challenge to Tahkamaa.

Vayrynen Unanimously Elected

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jun 84 p 11

[Article: "Tahkamaa Dropped from Center Party Leadership"]

[Text] Savonlinna--MP Taisto Tahkamaa, 59, who has been a vice-chairman of the Center Party for 4 years, was dropped from the party leadership in a close vote conducted on Sunday at the party congress in Savonlinna.

A young farmer by the name of Martti Pura, 34, from Tammela replaced Tahkamaa as a vice-chairman of the Center Party. Pura defeated Tahkamaa by 50 votes. Tahkamaa defeated his other competitor, Parliamentary Vice-Speaker Mikko Pesala, 45, by a little less than 50 votes. Ahti Pekkala, 59, and Marjatta Vaananen, 60, retained their positions without any difficulties. Pekkala now slid past Vaananen in the number of votes received.

Chairman Paavo Vayrynen, 37, and Party Secretary Seppo Kaariainen, 36, were unanimously reelected as expected without any speeches and with short applause. Vayrynen and Kaariainen have been at the helm of the Center Party since 1980.

The new vice-chairman, Martti Pura, has had experience in national politics for 2 years as the political secretary of Taisto Tahkamaa, whom he now defeated. Tahkamaa, for his part, has been a long-time MP and was a minister for 6 years. Sunday's defeat could hurt Tahkamaa's political career. The same, perhaps, can be said for Mikko Pesala.

Center Party Revives

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jun 84 p 11

[Article: "Green Bourgeois Remains Alive"]

[Text] The 3-day 60th Congress of the Center Party in Savonlinna was an interim meeting as far as personnel selections were concerned in spite of the fact that Taisto Tahkamaa, who became a supporter of Paavo Vayrynen at the end of the 1970's, was defeated by his former political secretary, former Martti Pura.

Foreign Minister Vayrynen, who has already been called the second Kekkonen, was unanimously elected as chairman to a spate of praise. Seppo Kaariainen, who is quickly becoming a new Korsimo for the Center Party, was also unanimously elected as party secretary.

The vice-chairmanship election is witness to the fact that the position of the party leadership is now strong. The defeat of Parliamentary Vice-Speaker Mikko Pesala demonstrated that riding on the coattails of important people does not necessarily guarantee success in the Center Party. Even Vayrynen has experience in this.

The unanimity demonstrated by the party congress is an organic unity and not a mechanical unity according to Party Secretary Kaariainen. In Vayrynen's opinion, the tensions that remained under the surface after the 1980 congress in Turku are now no longer apparent.

However, the tensions in Turku may reappear and bring a chairmanship election along with them if the Center Party suffers a serious election defeat in the October municipal elections.

The party leadership expected the meeting in Savonlinna to be one of ideological policy, but ideology was found only in the speeches of party leaders as is the custom of Center Party congresses. The 2,680 delegates had come to elect vice-chairmen and not to talk about centrist ideology.

The party congress also approved a number of positions, of which the most important was the tactically ingenious decision to oppose the acquisition of a new nuclear power plant for the next 2 years.

A small handful of delegates attempted to transfer medium strength beer to the jurisdiction of Alko [State Liquor Monopoly], among other things, late Saturday night, but a larger number of delegates were able to defeat this proposal.

Recovery

The politically most important outcome of the Savonlinna congress was the indication that the Center Party has finally recovered from the confusion of the presidential years.

The distance from the ice arena in Kuopio in the fall of 1981 is not long with respect to time, but spiritually it is an eternity. The Center Party has adapted to its new role in Koivisto's Finland and sincerely supports the president as he carries out the foreign policy of Paasikivi--Kekkonen.

The Center Party leaders were also apparently relieved by the fact that the Center Party is still alive. We are still here, stated Vayrynen in his report on the situation.

The Center Party's self-confidence has also returned. The primary catalysts in Finnish politics are the Social Democrats and the Center Party, as was repeatedly confirmed at the party congress.

The Conservative terror, which threatened the Center Party throughout all of the 1970's and in the beginning of this decade, has disappeared for the time being: it disappeared with the election defeat of the Conservative Party in the parliamentary elections in the spring of 1983.

Separation

The Center Party leaders observed the same palace truce as the Social Democrats did a full week ago at their own party congress. The ruling partners are continuing to coexist in peace.

The tough talk about red and black bourgeoisie was absent. Savonlinna was the site of green bourgeoisie, who divorced themselves from big industry and talked nicely about small and medium size industry.

It is clear that big industry is not a close ally of the Center Party, pointed out Vice-Chairman and Finance Minister Ahti Pekkala after the congress.

Pekkala is even otherwise gradually becoming a grey-haired saint of the Center Party, a kind of Veikko Helle of the Center Party.

The Center Party's aspiration to retain its position as the primary party representing the politics of a bourgeois Finland has logically resulted in the advancement of its political profile, for which the rank and file thanked the party leadership.

The architect of this change in government policy is most likely Party Secretary Kaariainen, who announced the rejection of a low profile in November already. Objectives must be made visible and a struggle must be waged on their behalf. This may cause some friction in government policy, but even this risk must be taken, estimated Kaariainen at that time.

The same policy line was brought into play when the Center Party severed its ties with big industry as a reaction to the fact that the chairmanship of the Finnish-Soviet Economic Commission was transferred from the Center Party to the SDP and to Kalevi Sorsa.

This policy was carefully observed in Savonlinna: the nuclear power people and the large industrial polluters of the environment were taken to task.

However, the question remained in the air even after Savonlinna: What will happen if the Center Party commences to live what it teaches.

Third Land Reform Advocated

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jun 84 p10

[Article by Arto Astikainen and Janne Virkkunen: "Land Ownership Closed to Speculators, Big Business, and State, Center Party Goal Third Land Reform"]

[Excerpts] Savonlinna--At its congress in Savonlinna the Center Party began the promotion of a Finnish land reform, which would prevent land from being owned by speculators, large enterprises, and the state. This position is included in the Center Party's domestic and government policy platform.

The land reform promoted by the Center Party would be the third of its kind since tenant farmers were liberated after the civil war and Karelian refugees were relocated after World War II.

According to the decision now adopted, those moving to rural areas from the cities would also be given an opportunity to pursue agriculture and forestry and the property of the state and large enterprises would be primarily used for this purpose.

Excess land within the sphere of agriculture should in the opinion of the Center Party be turned over to farmers in the most urgent need. The Center Party wants to replace the heavy multipurpose forest machinery with lighter logging methods.

Government To Be Made Broader

In its domestic policy platform the Center Party repeats the view of the previous congress on expanding the government. The Center Party declares that it supports the present government, but points out that "the condition for continuing present cooperation is, however, the observance of already adopted decisions and agreements as well as the purposeful and impartial accomplishment of the government program".

According to the Center Party, the framework of the government can still be built on a Center Party and Social Democratic foundation. However, it is possible to expand the base to the left as well as to the right in the opinion of the Center Party. A government made up of the center and the Conservatives is

also possible provided that the government is weighted toward the center and it adheres to a centrist policy, says the Center Party.

The domestic policy platform also includes the position adopted by the party congress according to which there is no need for the construction of new nuclear power plants in the opinion of the Center Party.

In environmental questions it is most important to prevent acid rains according to the Center Party. The Center Party is demanding strict standards with respect to the emission of pollutants. Plants for the purification of combustion gases should be installed in power plants managed by the state and municipalities in the opinion of the party. Also sulfur emissions from industry should be reduced by purifying combustion gases according to the Center Party. The commencement of the distribution of unleaded gas is also on the list of Center Party demands.

Development Aid Must Not Be Subordinated

In its foreign policy platform the Center Party's goal is to raise Finland's development aid funds to 0.7 percent of the gross national product by 1988. This aid is now a little less than 0.40 percent of the gross national product. According to the Center Party, development aid must not be made subordinate to commercial interests.

In its statement the Center Party also proposes the convening of a conference as a part of the CSCE process to deliberate environmental problems. According to the Center Party, the conference could deal with the problems caused by acid rains.

In its position paper the Center Party also expressed its support for President Mauno Koivisto "in his efforts to carry out a foreign policy in accordance with our national interests".

The Center Party considers it positive that attitudes in the various Nordic countries have recently become more favorably disposed toward a Nordic nuclear-free zone.

The party congress also made an appeal to the party membership to participate in greater numbers in the "work of civic organizations significant from a foreign policy point of view, such as the Finland--USSR Society, the Pohjola--Norden Society and other friendship societies as well as the Finnish Peace Defenders".

The responsibility as the guardian of President Urho Kekkonen's foreign policy legacy also obligates the party to participate in such work, says the Center Party.

A Satisfied Vayrynen Securely at Helm of Center Party

"It is doubtful that this will be the last term," surmised Chairman Paavo Vayrynen, 37, on Sunday in Savonlinna when the Center Party congress unanimously

elected him as the leader of the Center Party for the next 2 years after Saturday's speeches of praise.

A year ago Vayrynen himself mentioned that he is ready to leave the party leadership. There were no thoughts of resignation on Sunday. Vayrynen's election took place without any hitches and in addition, the outcome of the close vice-chairmanship election even strengthened the chairman's position.

Parliamentary Vice-Speaker Mikko Pesala, who was embittered by Vayrynen's ministerial selections last year and his foreign policy corrections, was elected to the party leadership. Taisto Tahkamaa, a Vayrynen supporter, lost his vice-chairmanship position, but he was not replaced by Pesala but by Martti Pura, who was supported by the party's youth.

It was observed already before the meeting in Savonlinna by the party's leadership machinery that Vayrynen's opponents from the remnants of the party's former v as well as k lines were gathering behind Pesala. Pesala's defeat could thus be considered as a victory for Vayrynen.

The Center Party congress elected a party chairman and secretary on Sunday more quickly than ever before. Vayrynen and Seppo Kaariainen, 36, had their credentials in their pocket and speeches expressing gratitude were delivered within 10 minutes.

However, more time was needed to elect the three vice-chairmen. Two hours passed before the delegates knew they had elected Pura as a new vice-chairman.

The struggle this time in the vice-chairmanship elections was over the representative of the farmers or Tahkamaa's position. Ahti Pekkala, 59, and Marjatta Vaananen, 60, were not threatened by anyone. They both received more than 2,000 votes while the other candidates received clearly less than a thousand votes.

The outcome of the vote was that Martti Pura, a meat producer from Tammela, replaced Taisto Tahkamaa, an egg producer from Piikkio, as vice-chairman of the farmers' wing. Mikko Pesala, a dairy farmer from Iittila, lost to Tahkamaa by a little less than 50 votes.

The results of the vice-chairmanship elections are as follows: Ahti Pekkala 2,132 votes, Marjatta Vaananen 2,178 votes, Martti Pura 702, Taisto Tahkamaa 652, Mikko Pesala 608, Markku Lehtosaari 372, Heimo Linna 289, and Kaija Roukala 192.

MP Tytti Isohookana-Asunmaa was nominated as a candidate for the vice-chairmanship at the last minute, but she declined not wanting to divide the women's votes between three candidates. Nevertheless, Marjatta Vaananen received fewer votes than Pekkala. This reflects Pekkala's strong position in the Center Party.

Tahkamaa's, Linna's and Pesala's political careers, on the other hand, seemed to have taken a downward turn.

A Blow to Anttila

Pura's ascendancy to the vice-chairmanship also meant a blow to MP Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, an obstinate opponent of Vayrynen. Since Pura is from Etela-Hame as is Anttila, Anttila will lose her position in the Center Party's governing council. It will also be difficult in the future for her to replace Vaananen as a woman vice-chairman if Pura retains his position. Pura can also threaten Anttila's seat in parliament in the next elections.

The post of vice-chairman appeared to be an important achievement for Martti Pura. Tears of joy threatened to well up in his eyes when the first news about Tahkamaa's defeat came. He pushed his way to the side to calm himself and to think about a thank-you speech. "What will I say to them."

Agronomist Pura was previously vice-chairman of the Center Party's youth organization for 2 years and twice attempted to gain a seat in parliament. He has not had anything to do with municipal politics since his father is chairman of the Tammela Town Council. The new vice-chairman has become familiar with national politics as Agriculture Minister Tahkamaa's political secretary a couple years ago. Now the assistant defeated his boss.

Pura was described in the corridors as an independent and not just an apologist for Vayrynen. Agriculture Minister Toivo Ylajarvi was satisfied with the new farmer vice-chairman. Ylajarvi has experienced continuing friction with Tahkamaa.

A Barb at Ylajarvi

In his farewell speech Tahkamaa made the assurance that he is not bitter or disappointed about leaving the party leadership. "Youthfulness is a sign of living politics," stated Tahkamaa and especially thanked Vayrynen for his honest and good cooperation and support.

Immediately after being elected chairman, Paavo Vayrynen very humbly asked those attending the congress to "stretch out your hands and help me, I will try to be worthy of your support", but Vayrynen's old self-confidence reappeared a couple hours later in the concluding speech of the congress.

Vayrynen surprisingly made a sharp jab at his competitor, Agriculture Minister Ylajarvi, by praising Tahkamaa as a strong defender of the peasants. "Tahkamaa has advised the new agriculture minister several times in the party's work committee that when things are difficult for a minister, then things are good for the peasant. This contains much."

Ylajarvi listened to Vayrynen's speech in a state of humiliation. Nearby people were whispering that Vayrynen meant: "Indeed, what a poor fellow".

It was presumed that Vayrynen's barbs were in response to Ylajarvi's Saturday speech, in which Ylajarvi chided the Center Party for excessively raising its profile. Vayrynen and Ylajarvi have bickered for agricultural issues for months at a time.

A Third Term

Paavo Vayrynen began his third term as Center Party chairman in Savonlinna. He was elected the first time in 1980 in Turku when Vayrynen defeated Johannes Virolainen by 126 votes. Two years ago Vayrynen was unanimously elected in Rovaniemi. The Center Party will come together again in 1986 in Lappeenranta to elect a leadership.

Former Chairman Virolainen became a member of the Center Party council in Savonlinna. Approximately half of the large party council is comprised of new members.

Greening of Center Party

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jun 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Center Party Added Green to Its Policies"]

[Text] The Center Party congress went as expected this time, without any destructive personal conflicts. Chairman Paavo Vayrynen was even reelected with amazing ease. Only one vice-chairmanship position was subjected to a struggle. This the congress resolved with a vote and by injecting the necessary element of youth into the chairmanship, to which more candidates than before are aspiring.

But not even this congress was completely without surprises in other respects. The surprise was that the party adopted a stricter stand on nuclear power than did the previous congress and leadership. It says straight out that there is no need for the construction of new nuclear power plants in the opinion of the Center Party.

This position apparently interprets the red-green negotiations at the government level on nuclear power plants in a completely different manner than the SDP's corresponding decision, which gives greater consideration than the Center Party does to the economic feasibility report on energy and the decision-making process.

On the other hand, it seems important to the Center Party to demonstrate to potential supporters that the party's traditional green ideological color is not just in its banner. Through the nuclear power question it was now also included in its operational policy, which in this way is striving to woo the so-called Green movement supporters.

Environmental policy was even otherwise on the agenda of the congress of this party, which is striving to become a general party. Primary attention was directed toward the Environmental Ministry and its contemplated construction legislation, which frightens the peasants and is causing difficulties for government cooperation. They were also predicted with respect to the child home care issue unless last winter's party secretary agreement holds.

The government question did not differ in content from the resolution of the previous congress. Indeed, attempts were made in speeches to provoke the Social Democrats and warn them against aspirations of supremacy, but this is part of politics. The congress announced that it considers present government cooperation to be the best and it also considers it possible to broaden it to the left and the right. A coalition of the center and the Conservatives was again mentioned as an alternative.

Objectively, nothing was changed in the Center Party's stand on the government question. It keeps the Conservative Party as an alternative in its resolutions only to intimidate the Social Democrats with this possibility. But at the same time it coldly brushed off the Conservative Party, which had appealed to it to reject the constitutional change. The Center Party answered by approving the reform which the SDP is promoting to facilitate the legislation of economic regulatory laws, which would place restraints on commerce and business.

Other Papers Comment

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 19 Jun 84 p 7

[Article: "Other Newspapers"]

[Text] The Center Party congress, which concluded on Sunday, inspired the country's newspapers to evaluate the party's situation. Taisto Tahkamaa's defeat in the vice-chairmanship vote aroused particular interest.

New Power for Party Leadership

ILKKA, a centrist newspaper published in Seinajoki, gives the assurance that Martti Pura will receive full support from the delegates of southern Ostrobothnia even though they still shunned this newcomer at the congress.

"Pura's election can be greeted as a positive event, the procurement of new young power in the party leadership. Martti Pura is an experienced organization man without being a professional politician. He is an ideologically enlightened and active speaker and writer, whose feet-on-the-ground and close-to-life opinions have met with a sympathetic response throughout the country for many years already. Even though he is little known in South Ostrobothnia, and for this reason he received little support from the delegates of the province, he will without a doubt also gain the confidence of the people of South Ostrobothnia."

A Change of Generations in Leadership

SAVON SANOMAT, a centrist newspaper appearing in Kuopio, considers Martti Pura's ascendancy to Taisto Tahkamaa's post only as a natural change of generations.

"There was no policy decision connected with the change of vice-chairmen, but what was in question was a typical change of generations. Both are farmers from Southern Finland. Taisto Tahkamaa had a good understanding of the views

of farmers in developing areas and in the Finland of milk producers. There is good reason to believe that as a practical farmer Martti Pura understands the problems of producers in developing areas in the same manner."

Temporary Unanimity

The Social Democratic ETEENPAIN, which is published in Kotka, believes that the unanimity of the Center Party congress in Savonlinna is only a breathing spell. After 2 years destructive conflicts can once again be a reality.

"This time the Center Party congress displayed a completely new type of behavior in questions regarding personalities. It has been traditional in the party that the "rank and file" scolds its leadership rather unmercifully at these events and also frequently replaces them to the accompaniment of considerable bickering and railroading. However, the party leadership, the much abused Paavo Vayrynen in the forefront, now received unanimous expressions of gratitude and praise. The only serious struggle was over Taisto Tahkamaa's vice-chairmanship position; the rising star of the Center Party's farm policy, Martti Pura, won it in a close vote.

"Knowing the Center Party, this unanimity cannot, however, be considered to be anything other than a breathing spell after the disruptive internal conflicts of past years. In 2 years the situation could again be completely different; even before this congress some cautious opening plays were made for changing the party leadership."

Vayrynen Secure in Leadership

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Jun 84 p 21

[Article by Ritva Remes: "Aspirants to Center Party Top Preparing Battle Stations"]

[Text] Paavo Vayrynen is sitting securely in the leadership of the Center Party. If there is to be a successor to him in 2 years, the opposition will be Seppo Kaariainen and Kauko Juhantalo.

The ideological measure of the Center Party was an hour and a half during the opening session of the party congress in Savonlinna on Friday. The audience stayed through the flag raising, greetings, musical presentations, and Chairman Paavo Vayrynen's speech. After this, the dense mass of people migrated: it moved in a huge wave to the field kitchen outside to drink coffee and eat Karelian meat pies and pea soup. Only a noisy embryonic nucleus remained to hear Seppo Kaariainen's message about the politics of will.

Issues dealing with personalities would have held the attention of the audience, but after many years it is now just as peaceful in the Center Party as it is in the SDP. At the leadership level only one position is in question and even it will not heat things up. Several of the candidates have submitted their names only for the purpose of acquiring name familiarity in the next parliamentary elections.

When the party leadership polishes its ideological profile in Savonlinna, the delegates will deliberate the future, even though "Paavo has forbidden anyone from mentioning names".

The situation in the Center Party is different than in the SDP, in which the future has already been mapped out and a new chairman will be selected in 3 years from among the polished political figures, Matti Ahde, Pirkko Tyolajarvi, or Erkki Liikanen, and, on the other hand, there is anxiety about the fact that the party will have to represent more and more young radicals such as Erkki Tuomioja, 37, and Ilkka Taipale, 41.

The young people are looking for positions in the Center Party. Paavo Vayrynen has not yet promised to give up the chairmanship even though he has cast looks in the direction of the Bank of Finland. But Esko Ollila is not ready to give up his directorship to Vayrynen, at least not yet.

Otherwise Paavo Vayrynen's affairs have become settled. The irritation that lasted until last winter in the Center Party subsided when Vayrynen assigned the first shaking to Kaariainen. If Paavo does not become a bank director, the chairmanship can extend his years: it is not worth tearing the party asunder with personality conflicts before the municipal or presidential elections.

The search for candidates to oppose Vayrynen was apparently buried under the winter snows. A suitable candidate could have brought the delegates in Savonlinna to their feet to bring about a change of power.

Juhantalo Versus Kaariainen

Kauko Juhantalo, the chairman of the parliamentary faction, remained the fixed star of last year's watered down candidate campaign. Those who dropped out of the race were Vice-Chairman and Finance Minister Ahti Pekkala, who will not oppose Paavo, and Agriculture Minister Toivo Ylajarvi, who is too lazy to accept the role of party leader for himself.

If a successor is sought for Vayrynen at the congress 2 years from now, the opponents will be Kaariainen and Juhantalo.

Kaariainen, the ideologist from Savo, who was elected party secretary by a wide majority in 1980, is promoting a Center Party line with a leftist oriented chain of reasoning while holding a grudge against and bowing to the masters at the same time.

With joviality as his trademark Kaariainen has diligently cultivated the Center Party rank and file with an understanding of small farmers, the opponent of nuclear power, and the provider of child care. There is a general understanding in the Center Party that an encounter between Kaariainen and Juhantalo would mean a clear victory for the favored Kaariainen.

However, Kaariainen and party headquarters have begun to fear Juhantalo, a 42-year old attorney from Kankaanpaa. The thinking is that Kaariainen's radicalism can irritate the Center Party's conservatives. The appeal, on the other hand, can be found in Juhantalo's pragmatism.

Kaariainen's concern has also been the subject of garden discussions in the Center Party: he is "only" a party secretary. He has not tested his support in nationwide elections, and the Center Party has never elected party secretaries as chairmen. Kaariainen should try to gain a seat in parliament or at least become a minister.

A ministerial post also interests Juhantalo. He does not actually admit to aspiring to the chairmanship. However, a definite change is in the offing. When Juhantalo was elected chairman of the parliamentary faction and talk turned to the party chairmanship, the idea seemed strange to him. However, Juhantalo soon became accustomed to it.

The exigencies of politics have not damaged the strong self-confidence of the former attorney during his short term as faction chairman. Juhantalo feels confident enough to talk about his dreams of becoming a minister: "Vayrynen and Kaariainen cannot stop me if such an opportunity arises. The decisions will in the final count be resolved by a vote."

Juhantalo was unanimously elected chairman of the Center Party's parliamentary faction in a compromise situation after the 1983 elections. Since then this nationally unknown politician has basked in the glow of publicity. The first setbacks have also been experienced: Juhantalo participated in the Center Party negotiations which allowed the power to slip out of the party's hands at the management level of the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

The Social Democratic and Center Party Power Axis

Kaariainen's and Juhantalo's thinking about the Center Party's future proceeds from the same fixed point: the Social Democratic and Center Party power axis.

Kaariainen is laying the groundwork for an attack: The Center Party must adhere to a strict line and promote itself as a visible counterweight to the SDP.

Juhantalo's premise is self-evident: government policy is managed by the SDP and the Center Party reinforced by different alternatives. They do not include the Conservative Party. The Center Party's position as a counterweight to the SDP must be maintained by supporting the right to ownership, entrepreneurs, and farmers.

Juhantalo does not care for an ideological base between the two parties that is too similar, this time one that is green oriented: "They are those Rousseau speeches by Vayrynen and Kaariainen, the turning of the old idealistic mill, poetic Finnishness, and opposition to industry and urbanization". Idealism does not even exist in agriculture anymore.

Kekkonen's policy line, however, must be continued, we cannot afford to abandon it. Juhantalo wants to modernize the Center Party. He says that party headquarters smells of the continuation of university student politics; the guys are spending too much time in 1960 and 1970 style cabinet politics.

A crowd of aspirants is trailing behind Vayrynen, Kaariainen, and Juhantalo in the Center Party. Mikko Pesala, second vice-speaker of parliament, is trying so hard that it is difficult to take him seriously. Pesala will run for vice-chairman in Savonlinna, the elections are today on Sunday.

Martti Pura, the former political secretary of Agriculture Minister Taisto Takamaa, will also test his support in the vice-chairmanship elections. Pura is one of the future farmer-vice-chairman in the classification of the party machinery.

Markku Lehtosaari, chairman of the Ita-Savo District and a municipal politician from Savonlinna, is also aspiring to become a vice-chairman representing the farmers. Lehtosaari's candidacy in Savonlinna is the starting point for the next parliamentary elections, time will tell how far he will go.

Matti Vanhanen is also expected to make it to the vanguard of the youth movement. Vanhanen's failure in the parliamentary elections was due to the weakness of Center Party support in Espoo.

If a new chairmanship were to be built around Vayrynen or Kaariainen, it would be made up of Pura and Esko Aho. Juhantalo's group would include Toivo Ylajarvi and Aapo Saari, who is serving his first term in parliament. Among the women Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa could be included in both groups if only she were interested.

Sirkka-Liisa Anttila, Johannes Virolainen's former pillar of support, is vigorously aspiring to the leadership of women as a representative of housewives. "Forssa's Thatcher" is concerned about Pura. Two delegates from Etela-Hame are too many for the district division of party leadership.

Tytti Isohookana-Asunmaa, who is serving her first term in parliament and is liked for her strong words, has lost points because of her conservatism, inexperience, and her willingness to sign all kinds of letters. Assistant Professor Satu Hattunen, a Center Party-Green from Oulu, has ended up on the list of names, but he is still unknown.

MP Hannele Pokka is known, in a way. She is considered to be sharp, energetic, but shrewd. Pokka has tripped up Vayrynen as much as one person possibly can, but so skillfully that it is difficult to place the blame in her court. Fish or foul, ask Center Party members of the tiring Pokka, who is writing her dissertation.

Party Crown Prince Esko Aho

Among the new names, Esko Aho is the most visible. He is Vayrynen's heir apparent and the party chairman of the 1990's according to the scheme of the party machinery.

Aho, who is Vayrynen's former political secretary and organizer of his chairmanship campaign, is serving his first term in parliament.

The prince is being closely observed, and opinions are partially contradictory. Aho does not irritate, he is to the point and dares to take stands on broad issues, which are only now becoming the subject of debate. He is punctual, intelligent, and does not become involved in petty issues. He has no other fault than a loud bellow at the roulette table. On the other hand: Aho is too closely bound to Paavo and to Paavo's K-line. He has learned the decisive moves at too young of an age.

It is expected that Aho will become a candidate for the vice-chairmanship in 2 years. Vice-chairmanship terms will run out at that time. Marjatta Vaananen and Taisto Tahkamaa may step aside unless Tahkamaa is forced to step aside in Savonlinna already.

Pekkala is another story. A comfortable retirement post awaits him as the governor of the Province of Oulu, but the Center Party still needs him on the political parade field. Since the Center Party's old physicians have retired, the bank director has been made a symbol of party continuity. For the young party leadership Pekkala is worth his weight in gold as the flag bearer of the older generation.

Vayrynen Praised

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Jun 84 p 6

[Article: "Vayrynen Highly Praised"]

[Text] Center Party Chairman Paavo Vayrynen received the most positive and extensive praise he has ever received in his 4-year term from the party rank and file during the debate conducted on Saturday at the party congress in Savonlinna.

Not one of the more than 2,600 official delegates questioned Vayrynen's position as Center Party chairman anymore. "Paavo Vayrynen has matured in recent years. The people have learned to trust in the party leadership," was the word at the congress. Just 2 years ago, it was threatened that Vayrynen will disappear like a spear if he does not change his ways.

"It seems strange," stated Vayrynen in characterizing the new situation with its absence of criticism.

At least as much praise was also given to Party Secretary Seppo Kaariainen and vice-chairman Ahti Pekkala, who is already beginning to become a saint in the Center Party. It has been many decades since the whole leadership has been praised at the same time in the Center Party.

The stricter policy line of the party leadership and the fight put up in the government and in parliament during the winter received extensive support and recognition from the party rank and file. A low profile was condemned as unsuitable for the Center Party.

Those tightening the policy line were so energetic at the congress that Agriculture Minister Toivo Ylajarvi rose to the podium to put the damper on excessive enthusiasm.

"The emphasis on a visible profile has already become a worn-out phrase. An uproar should not be raised over important issues, it endangers government cooperation," stated Ylajarvi emphatically. At the same time he defended the agricultural policy, which was criticized at the congress, by pointing out that if there is a desire to cooperate with the Social Democrats, the Center Party cannot always have its own way. "Understanding must be sought from the Social Democrats," stated Ylajarvi.

Center Party Now in the Hands of Two People

Saturday's general debate at the Center Party congress with its extensive praise of the leadership demonstrated that the Center Party is now securely in the hands of two men, Chairman Vayrynen and Party Secretary Kaariainen. The difference from before is that Johannes Virolainen kept the leadership of the party in his hands alone. Now the Center Party rank and file is tying Vayrynen together with Kaariainen.

The party leadership was criticized in only a couple speeches in Savonlinna and neither one singled out any particular party leader.

MP Sirkka-Liisa Anttila from Hame, a strong opponent of Vayrynen, accused the party leadership, ministers, and MP's of forgetting Southern Finland. In addition, Anttila complained that the Center Party has not been truly unified. "The Center Party needs unselfish, honest policy makers. Away with the promotion of one's own interests and dirty tricks," demanded Anttila. The making of sarcastic remarks was a reference to Vayrynen, but Anttila did not say it.

A teacher from Helsinki criticized the whole party leadership for the open stand on nuclear power, arms exports, civilian service, and other peace issues.

Sirkka-Liisa Anttila's criticism did not receive a sympathetic response at the congress. The delegates of nearly all the districts proposed the unanimous election of Vayrynen and Kaariainen and justified the choices with many positive arguments.

Even a delegate from South-Ostrobothnia, who strongly opposed Vayrynen before, admitted that Vayrynen has recently changed for the better, and the delegates from Yla-Savo stated that the party leadership has regained the trust of the rank and file. The chairman and party secretary were also thanked for increasing party unity, the creditable management of affairs, and energetic work. "You have not given in to the Social Democrats."

Antti Aho from Tornio even called Vayrynen "a smaller version of Kekkonen, Kekkonen's twin" because of his successful management of foreign policy.

Eight Candidates

A total of eight candidates was presented for the three vice-chairmanship positions, Ahti Pekkala's and Marjatta Vaananen's selection being supported by nearly everyone while Taisto Tahkamaa's position was contested.

Tahkamaa's opponents were Martti Pura from South Hame, Heimo Linna from Central Ostrobothnia, Markku Lehtosaari from East Savo, Mikko Pesala from Kymenlaakso, and the trade union crowd nominated Kaija Roukala, the vice-chairwoman of the Union of Bank Employees.

Pura and Pesala seemed to have support extending beyond their own districts. Pura more than Pesala. The vote on Sunday morning can, indeed, become close for Tahkamaa, between Pura and Pesala.

Vice-chairmen in the Center Party have no other significance than the fact they are members of the working committee, which makes decisions on the party's practical day-to-day questions.

Construction Law a Frightful Specter

In addition to the usual question of leadership, the general debate at the congress sailed through the most varied of subjects, but this time in such an indifferent manner that Aarre Ojala from Uusimaa suspected that the Center Party had fallen asleep. As an old supporter of Virolainen, Ojala had become accustomed to fighting.

One subject in the debate received more attention than the others: the draft of the new construction bill being prepared by the Environmental Ministry under the direction of Matti Ahde (Social Democrat). This has become a frightful specter for the Center Party's farmers. All the municipalities would be required to formulate a general plan for their territory, and property owners would no longer be able to build what and how they want on their own property.

"The construction bill cannot be made tolerable even with revisions. It must be rejected in its entirety," stated Matti Suntela. "With this construction bill the Environmental Ministry is attempting to change the right of land ownership into the right of land use," noted Mikko Linnamaa and surmised that the Center Party's forces will, indeed, be tested in this matter.

Almost every other speaker demanded the rejection of the construction law reform. There was also much talk about support for developing areas. The delegates from Southern Finland warned against forgetting the south.

A low profile and criticism of the media was left as a matter of the Social Democrats and "Sorsa's brood" [Sorsa means duck in Finnish]. The delegates even otherwise remembered to poke a little fun at the Social Democrats. One speaker complained that a ram sold to the Ahtari Zoo in an auction on Friday was named Paavo. Kalevi would have been more appropriate.

Virolainen Was Quiet

Johannes Virolainen, former Center Party chairman and presidential candidate, attended the congress as a delegate from Uusimaa, but he remained silent on Saturday and did not even take pictures with his famous camera.

Kauko Juhantalo, chairman of the Center Party's parliamentary faction, who it is presumed will be a future challenger to Vayrynen, delivered an extensive report favorable to farmers, which it is suspected was compiled as a future election speech. Juhantalo promised that the party will continue to support the farmer and pointed out that if necessary the Center Party must be cautiously conservative. The Center Party reacted quickly to the question of ownership rights according to Juhantalo.

10576

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RURAL PARTY'S VENNAMEO REJECTS COALITION WITH CONSERVATIVES

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 1 Jul 84 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Vennameo Rejected Plans: Conservative Party Not Suitable as Government Partner"]

[Text] Chairman Pekka Vennameo of the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] rejects plans for the formation of a nonsocialist government.

Vennameo, who spoke on Saturday at a meeting of the SMP's party representatives, said that a nonsocialist government would not have a majority in the Parliament without the SMP's support.

"In the current situation the SMP does not see the preconditions for the construction of a government base in which the SMP and the present Conservative Party with its unsteady policy lines would work together," said Vennameo.

In his opinion it is essential that the present government survive the entire election period.

"Individual differences of opinion must not cursh the atmosphere of constructive cooperation which has prevailed, for the most part, during the entire current government term," stated Vennameo.

Niiranen Rising to Party Secretary

The party's organization chief, Aaro Niiranen, is emerging as the SMP's new party secretary. His election was practically assured on Saturday when Chairman Pekka Vennameo declared his public support for Niiranen.

The party secretary will be elected at the SMP's party congress in Turku 3-5 August. According to his earlier announcement, Labor Minister Urpo Leppanen will relinquish the office at that time.

It does not seem, for the time being at least, that any candidates will turn up to challenge Niiranen. He is 42 years old and a building contractor by education. Niiranen has been the party's organization chief since the 1982 parliamentary elections.

SORSA WARNED AGAINST BEING OVERLY COMPLIANT TOWARD VENNAME

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 5 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial by Bjorn Mansson: "Asserting Itself for Better and Worse"]

[Text] The press debate concerning the spring session of Parliament, now ended, is commented on by Bjorn Mansson who, among other things, discusses the reasons why Parliament has become more active. In the editorial below, he also criticizes the Finnish Rural Party's double-dealing as being a negative manifestation of Parliament's "assertion of its position."

The long drawn-out spring season in Parliament has ended, and official Finland has closed up shop for the summer. Parliament has moved off to summer pasture, and over half of the government, with the prime minister in the lead, has just done the same.

Press commentaries on the now-ended spring season have noted in particular that Parliament strengthened its position and managed to assert itself over against other power centers. As a result, the talk about Parliament's being a rubber stamp is considered to have been effectively contradicted.

Considering that politics this spring was so markedly dominated by labor market policy, it may seem surprising that Parliament was able to assert itself in such a context. But on the contrary, over the past few years it has been precisely the labor market organizations that have strengthened their dominating position at the expense of Parliament.

This time, however, Parliament was able to turn things around by using precisely the legislation related to labor market agreements to assert its position of power. The so-called Pekkanen laws received really rough treatment at the hands of Parliament, not only as to their legal formulation but also as far as their subject matter was concerned.

The press debate over the fate of the Pekkanen laws in Parliament did not fail to score its points. In that connection, the newspaper UUSI SUOMI was guilty of something known as a volte-face. In an editorial on Wednesday of last week, UUSI SUOMI criticized the government and Parliament for breaking the Pekkanen

agreement and supported in particular the criticism by employers that the law on protecting the livelihood of the unemployed was being changed. In a remark obviously aimed at the people's elected representatives, it wrote: "This is not the first time that those responsible for the country's economy and competitiveness have had to abandon their goals because tactical politicking was gaining ground."

Two days later, UUSI SUOMI was suddenly ready to give Parliament recognition for having asserted its position. How can those two attitudes be reconciled?

Our intention here is not to point a finger at our colleague, but this apparent inconsistency on the part of UUSI SUOMI is being used here to illustrate the dilemma: on the one hand, the government--and in the final analysis, that means Parliament--must be able to act as a reliable "negotiating partner," and on the other hand, democratic decisionmaking obviously cannot be disregarded by any labor market agreement.

Consequently, a favorable interpretation of the above-mentioned inconsistency is that what UUSI SUOMI was criticizing in the first instance was the reverse side--not always so pleasant--of the beautiful medal called parliamentary democracy.

In any case, the rough treatment received by the Pekkanen laws in Parliament showed that the people's representatives have wills of their own. And that is obviously as it should be.

It has already been possible in the press debate to point out--very rightly--that the assertion of Parliament's position did not necessarily result solely from a deliberate and active intention on Parliament's part. The Pekkanen laws were obviously drafted in a slipshod manner by the government, and the government front was more divided internally than usual. So it may be more likely that the government's relative weakness had more to do with emphasizing Parliament's importance than Parliament's strength did.

But there are certainly other, deeper reasons for the arousal of Parliament. The "rebellious spirit" in the government camp was not revealed only in the Finnish Rural Party's unreliability as a coalition party--by now traditional--but also in the fact that the so-called "Red Dozen" within the Social Democratic group openly expressed their displeasure with the proposal to increase fines for strikes in violation of labor contracts.

One explanation for the looser group discipline is surely the large number of new members of Parliament, who were expressly elected just over a year ago in a climate of debate which emphasized that Parliament must pull itself together. They now feel their responsibility to show that they have been sensitive to the demands of public opinion.

And considering that central control has been the rule in the parties in recent years--perhaps especially in those parties that were in the coalitions of the time--a reaction from the "foot soldiers" in Parliament was to be expected. Democratic "control" by the citizens over "their own representatives in Parliament" has therefore increased.

It is certainly also correct to mention the entry by the "Greens" into Parliament as a factor favoring looser discipline--for better and for worse. But in this respect, a considerably bigger "villain" is the Finnish Rural Party [SMP], whose conduct may have encouraged others to some extent.

And it is clear that the way in which honorary chairman Veikko Vennamo expressed the assertion of Parliament's position does no service to our democracy, not even in the name of Parliament's unrestricted freedom with respect to the government in power. When a coalition party's group chairman in Parliament leads attacks on the government and demands, among other things, that another party's minister resign, things have gone too far.

There is justified surprise at the fact that Prime Minister Sorsa has not reacted more strongly so far to that double-dealing by the SMP. In fact, one of Sorsa's latest moves was to smooth over Veikko Vennamo's action by writing it off to the "high spirits of summer." It is true that the time for putting Vennamo in his place was not an opportune one for Sorsa, since members of his own Social Democratic group had voted against the government on that same day. But all the same--where is the line to be drawn?

Sorsa's "low profile" is obviously due to his full awareness that the delicate structure underlying his government will easily collapse if the SMP's participation in the coalition is seriously called into question.

When the government was formed, the Social Democrats locked themselves into the principle that the government's internal balance of power should reflect the strength of the coalition parties in Parliament. For their part, the Center Party and the SFP [Swedish People's Party] maintained that the government ought to have a nonsocialist majority because that is what exists in Parliament. Two principles thus stood in opposition to each other, and the solution was participation by the SMP, meaning that the government got its nonsocialist majority without the Social Democrats having to renounce their principle.

That is why Sorsa will certainly think twice before throwing out the SMP. But the SMP's members, including Veikko Vennamo, are also well aware of that fact. A lot can be said about Vennamo's political style, but he is shrewd--always. He knows that--at least up to a certain point--he can "afford" to pursue his opposition line without endangering the SMP's participation in the government. As we said above, the question is where the line is to be drawn. And it is up to the prime minister to make that decision.

If he continues to allow Veikko Vennamo to go straight ahead, the situation will soon become intolerable for government cooperation. Since it is necessary to put an end to the SMP's double-dealing, eyes are being turned upon party chairman Pekka Vennamo and Minister Urpo Leppanen. If they want the party to remain in the government, they should make it clear to their people at the party congress in August which rules are to be followed. If necessary, they will have to have the courage to put their honorary chairman in his place.

11798

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PAPER EXAMINES POLITICAL PARTIES

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 1 Jul 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Things to Think about for the Autumn"]

[Text] Now that political life is quieting down, the politicians are left in midsummer with a group of thorny questions to keep themselves busy. The keys to winning the municipal elections are with these outlooks out of the reach of several party leaders.

Besides the fact that the challenge offered by the Green movement requires a swift answer, one should otherwise be able to create a new sort of strategy for reaching the fleeing voters. A recent opinion poll of the M [expansion unknown] information center shows it in public archaically dressed in the form of only one kind of commentary.

SUOMEN SOSIALIDEMOKRAATTI formulated this conclusion in the statement that "the Conservative Party's support has finally cracked and slipped below 20 percent." The popularity of the Conservative Party really seems to be going downward. Although it is too early to say how final this development is, the Conservative Party's leadership will come in for some rough times while pondering the future.

A phenomenon more interesting than the drop in support for the Conservative Party is the rupture in development which has momentarily taken place in the direction of the two-party system. A long-time opposition party can always explain its scant success by its outsider position. It would be even more interesting to hear how the previously triumphant SDP [Finnish Social Democratic Party], which spoke of a share of support of as much as 30 percent, has in a short time plunged to figures of 25 percent.

The Social Democrats may receive a somewhat larger share than predicted in the elections, while the Conservative Party will undoubtedly rise above 20 percent. But there is reason to believe in the birth of an important phenomenon of a more permanent nature. The SDP does not really enjoy among people the sympathy and esteem which it itself along with the other parties and the news media have fobbed off on it.

The Social Democratic Party is an administrator party only in the sense that it occupies at this moment some of the most noteworthy political positions, from president of the republic to prime minister, and so forth. As the Social Democrats themselves have recently begun to say, the SDP's superiority is exaggerated.

Of the government parties the Center Party has retained its position of support well, the RKP [Swedish Peoples Party] has strengthened its hold, and along with the Social Democrats only the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] is losing its popularity, which had risen so high. In view of their expectations the Social Democrats have fallen the farthest, relatively speaking.

One can surmise that the direction of development is seen from the vantage point of the prime minister's party more clearly than elsewhere. Recent speeches of the SDP's leadership describe more than its external content, if they are analyzed with this viewpoint in mind. Ultimate success is slipping out of their hands--and it is not the fault of the news media.

One still does not have to stare blindly at the results of opinion polls. Moreover, in the most recent ones the differences are too great for anyone to be able to believe in the results as such. For example, the Greens' share of support does not tell anything about national election truth, because they will have candidates in only a part of the municipalities.

The most meaningful conclusion is that our political field is once again in a new way dividing into parts. The Left/Right split in the traditional sense is only something in the imaginations of former party leaders. The transitional stage based on the leading position of the two parties, the SDP and the Conservatives, is also disappearing. But what will come in its place?

If the party is able to renew itself, it will preserve its meaning. The large parties must be organized after the pattern of alternative businesses and commercial systems. When decisions are now rigidly made in Helsinki or seemingly at party congresses, there must be bargaining for uniformity and position-taking must be dispersed over the entire realm and into small groups.

The parties must also run the risk of not making decisions. Nor do citizens want to work under the all-encompassing guidance of big-party machinery.

For the time being this starting point is the easiest for the Center Party, because it has a foundation of supporters, ideas and advantages more consistent than the other parties. On the other hand, the Social Democrats and the Conservatives now find themselves recontemplating entirely their ideologies' relationship to reality. If these parties are unable to break loose from the phraseology of uniformity, they do not really have a future as great parties.

The communists are in dispute with their own followers, but for the smaller entrepreneurs the possibilities for expansion are sufficient in the event that absic groups like the SDP and the Conservative Party are unable to shed their skin.

12327

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LEFTIST DOMENACH VIEWS MEANING OF PSF, PCF DECLINE

Paris LE MATIN in French 9 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Jean-Marie Domenach, essayist and former director of the journal ESPRIT: "PS Suffering From the Same Sickness"]

[Text] The decline of the French Communist Party has been making history over such a long period of time that one might be tempted to consider the trend irreversible. And this fact, let it be said in passing, relativizes the merits that some attribute in this connection to Charles de Gaulle and others to Francois Mitterrand. New production reports, new manufacturing techniques, mass consumption, have all contributed over the past 30 years, to dissolve those half real, half mythical revolutionaries, those members of the working class on whom Marxism-Leninism based its theory. To the evidence of the high standard of living have been added the lessons of the media. As an old militant revolutionary remarked: "Militants used to be able to say whatever they wanted. Now their wives reply: 'Stop telling me stories. I saw on television what is happening in Poland.'"

The historical evolution that forms a background for this decline, however, is not in itself irreversible. The rise in unemployment and the lowering of the standard of living may give rise to critical situations, and then we would see the return of old anxieties and old nightmares: Does the resurrection of the Extreme Right not provide an example of this? In September 1939 the PC found itself with a voter strength substantially lower than 11 percent (Unfortunately we do not possess any opinion polls). Three and a half years later, it was only a hairsbreadth away from taking control of the Resistance Movement. The Communist Party cannot be treated like ordinary parties because it has an experienced, hardened nucleus capable of reconstituting a coherent force in a very short time. Like the amoeba, the PC encysts itself, then later resumes its progress under a mobile and widespread form. In 1944 there were fewer than 300 card-carrying members of the Communist Party in Romania. The Red Army was there, too. But the Red Army was not responsible for everything. Who knows, moreover, what shocks, pressures or fears over the next few years might put an end to the peace and quiet of Western Europe?

I shall believe in the impending demise of the PCF when I see a Left capable of taking its place. Now the PS seems to me to be even more threatened than

the PC. Like the latter, it lives on the scraps of a life-story now completed and gives proof of its inability to analyze reality and mobilize the people in the pursuit of contemporary objectives. The failure of its policy will produce a demoralization, leading to further abstentions and favoring the Communist Party, provided the latter has the intelligence to rise to the occasion.

Predicting the future is a dangerous proceeding and moreover one forbidden by the penal code. Michel Alexandre used to say: "There is only one legitimate kind of predicting: that is an appeal to the people." What kind of future do we want then? The PS suffers from the same sickness as the PC. Both are living on outmoded ideas and attitudes. The Left is ripe for reconstruction. If it does not renew itself in the next two years, it will lose far more than elections. It will lose its forum; and political debate in this country, just as in the United States, will bring into opposition the liberals and the conservatives.

Instead of bemoaning or ridiculing the collapse of the PCF, leftists ought to come out of their ghetto, look at the world and look at themselves. Arrogance leads straight to downfall. One cycle of socialism is completed, and the time has come to take thought and to devote our imaginations to the service of fidelity.

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CSO: 3519/415

POLITICAL

FRANCE

DISSIDENT FISZBIN EXAMINES PCF DECLINE, FUTURE POTENTIAL

Paris LE MATIN in French 9 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Henri Fiszbin, Chairman of Communist Reunions and author of "Les bouches s'ouvrent: Appel a l'autosubversion. Pour une revolution culturelle du peuple communistes" (Mouths Open: Appeal to Self-Subversion. Toward a Cultural Revolution of the Communist Peoples: "The Leadership Is Responsible")]

[Text] It is not a question of academic debate: with respect to the future of the Left and the struggle for democratic socialism, the question of knowing whether the decline of the PCF is or is not reversible is one of capital importance.

Communist influence is at a very low point today. But as the attempt to call forth a different kind of communist, which I initiated, failed, the PCF still holds the monopoly on communist representation. Its behavior governs--albeit in an indirect and remote way--the behavior of social strata and of militant forces whose capacity for political creativity and popular intervention is remarkable. How can we assure ourselves that this precious potential will not become sterile and be lost to the Left?

It is the evolution of the revolutionary current in our country and its adaptation to the profound social and ideological changes now stirring up the civil society that are the cause of it. For more than a half-century it was confused with the Communist Party. The present decline of the latter reflects a process of divorce and not the disappearance of the revolutionary current. To be a revolutionary today is not to dream of the great upheaval, but to commit oneself totally to the transforming work undertaken by the Left. The least step forward, the least advance made by the workers in the conquest of new dimensions of freedom and social justice is a hundred times more revolutionary than the most inflammatory words.

In the class struggle, what is decisive is not the moment of protest but the moment of action, to create a rapport between forces which will allow progressive changes in the structures of the capitalist system. In its present mode of existence, the PCF is putting itself out of the action and eliminating itself as a significant political force. If its decline is

confirmed, the place it occupies in the revolutionary action will not forever remain empty.

But for the time being, it remains a burning, ever-present issue to determine whether, after the disaster of the European elections and the recent meeting of the Central Committee, it has committed itself to a course of action geared to rescue it from a critical impasse.

Are we still permitted to think that the PCF will be willing and able to pull itself back together, and should we entertain the hope that it can escape the decline and make some effort toward that goal, at best, and in that case what is the procedure to adopt? Or at worst, can we feel sure that it will soon be too late or that it is already too late?

The communists have just undergone a trauma, the manifestations of which, both real and imaginary, are front-page news. People are wondering about the babble of voices emerging from inside the PCF. Surely the disturbance is deep-seated and numerous are the militants, the elected officials and the accountable persons aware of the extent of the transformations to be made.

But at the same time, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the present militant force was formed during the sectarian period of the presidential elections, nor that, by and large, it gravitates around a basically narrow line. That is why I express the most explicit reservations concerning the propensity of certain commentators to confuse the manifestation of the fact there is something rotten in Denmark with the harbingers of an effort at renewal. The froth on the words must not deceive us.

The example of the PCF proves that the communist decline is not universally true. That of the PCF was not inevitable. It is ascribable to the responsibility of its leadership and to the policy it set in operation beginning in 1977. Its behavior, as has been seen recently in the Sakharov affair, leads the French to identify communism with the authoritarian, not the democratic, system of soviet-style socialism. Moreover, when the Left is in power, a communist party that limits its ambition to providing a gathering-place for malcontents and that refuses to establish itself as an administrative force, necessarily condemns itself to playing a marginal role. The electoral ebbing of the PCF happened under these conditions, and from 1977 onward, has become a part of history. The Communist Reunions and its weekly, RCH, were founded in 1981, as a reaction to this possibility.

The wholesale abstention of the electorate that formerly voted communist is fundamentally not attributable to the discontent over power politics. The PS is losing five percent in relation to the presidential elections which it won in an ascendant phase of its existence. For the PS, that is a serious reverse. But for the PCF, it is a question of an entirely different kind of phenomenon. Within the framework of an erosion process continuing now for the past 20 years, and after the plateau reached in 1981, how can we be certain that the point of no return has not already been passed? With an

electoral influence gravitating around 10 percent, it is the nucleus itself that now structures the electorate of the PCF which has been greatly weakened. The workers, the young people, all the sources of kinetic energy among the communist electorate, have turned away. It is a question of a rupture and not of a simple quantitative change.

It is possible that at the next elections the PCF may show some gains. But one can confidently assert that, if everything in the PCF does not change, then nothing will change, in the process which is currently making of it a political force on its way to extinction, and that under these conditions a reversal of the general trend is impossible.

The evil is too deep to be rooted out by a few adjustments. Even the departure of the secretary general would not suffice to change what can no longer be tolerated in the PCF. To save the Communist Party, the next congress would have to rid it of everything in its day-to-day operations, its behavior and its policies that arouses a real manifestation of popular rejection: it would have to create the right conditions for all communists, whatever their admitted diversity, to be able to believe that they are members of the same organization, who can come together democratically to evolve the great constructive policy that will allow the PCF in time to win back its place in public opinion. It would have to get on with the true cultural and structural revolution of the communist people, which I advocated in my "Appel a l'autosubversion" [Appeal to Self-Subversion]. But is such a turning-point foreseeable?

The democratic and unitarian communists were counting on the expression of a different kind of communism to get the phenomenon of renewal started. Failing this, can we count on the leadership and the political machinery to fill the need voluntarily? It is at all levels so committed, so involved in the present disaster that it is too much to expect it to take the leadership in an enterprise which would bring its very existence into question and would destabilize all the traditional structures of the party.

I see no sign that the leadership, preoccupied first and foremost with the preservation of its power, has lost control of the party or is under any threat. A thousand times it has demonstrated its awesome capacity to make use of the permanent machinery to gain time, in such a way that the criticisms or proposals of innovative communists are "worn down" or "drowned" in the referendary, monolithic procedures typical of PCF operations. This will be confirmed, I think, at the beginning of September by the way in which the Central Committee will kick off concrete preparations for the congress.

I shall not conceal my pessimism: the leadership will more than likely win the 25th congress of the PCF, as it has won the two previous congresses. But its "victory" would lead to the defection of a new contingent of militants and to the Party's definitive entry into the zone of historical decline. It would then be up to those who wish to continue to act as Euro-communists to invent the possibility of doing so within the new situation that will rise from this decay. The French worker movement is undergoing a process of recomposition. The old cleavages are fading away, and the struggle for democratic socialism calls for new structures. We have certainly not finished discussing all these matters on the Left.

PASOK ERRORS PERCEIVED, REMEDIES ADVOCATED

Athens ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 26 Jun 84 p 9

[Article by Victor Netas in The Column "Analysis": "There is Time Until October 1985"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] And now to work; the noisy and costly electoral demonstrations are over, as the level headed, average citizen would say, who could add: and be on your guard lest the Right returns which, if it does return, will not return because of its worth but because of the government's mistakes, of the governmental party and more generally because of the progressive democratic forces that must be reshuffled so as to carry on the struggle.

There is still time until the elections of October 1985 for the government to show achievements that will answer /the expectations of the majority of the People and not just those of the party officials/ who view things from a different angle and rightfully so up to a point.

From programs, visions and declarations to implementation there is a huge distance that must be covered, not through feats but by methodical, practical work which brings about results and does not cause grief.

The Change cannot think with the mentality of the Right and use its concepts which might entrap it.

Underestimating the democratic majority and managing the state like a feudal institution led to the Right's defeat.

It is precisely this kind of arrogance that the people do not forgive. And arrogance ceases to exist through a system of simple proportion which gives a wider range of progressive democrats the possibility of participating in the exercise of power.

The other requirement is for the government to rid itself of the structures and the mentality which permeate the entire mechanism of the state.

It is not enough that the Change put into the so called "key positions" its own people /many of whom have been assimilated by the system and function like their predecessors/ with the same authoritarianism, the same mentality and arrogance, surrounded by the same ponderous mechanisms, trapped by the centralization which cuts them off from the plain citizens' immediate burning problems

that cry for a solution they are unable to find.

In very many instances - not to say on the whole - the mechanism of the state did not get going, it has not been activated, it did not function, it did not abide by the political decisions and it leaves the citizen to thrash in lines and lose himself in the monstrous bureaucracy, in search of his rights.

And so it was necessary at the beginning of the 3rd year in government for the message of the ballot boxes of the European elections to reach us to come to the decision of establishing "complaints bureaus" within the ministries.

A jolt is needed from a barrage of daring political decisions to bring the mechanism of state out of its lethargy and put it into the citizen's service.

Endurance, daring, morality and decisiveness are needed in those who will shoulder the responsibility of this big change which is the only justification for the struggle of the People.

Otherwise we will sink ever deeper into the crisis which plagues the nation following the vicissitudes of the last decades. /The People entrusted the Change with the mission/ of taking the nation out of the crisis by mobilizing all of its forces which have remained inert, however, within its framework because of some narrow conceptions.

One might just make a list of the mistakes and the many steps that should have been taken. At this point some remarks are useful:

- . HIT bureaucracy and put it out of joint.

- . HIT tax evasion. It is inconceivable that the salaried and the retired are still shouldering the great bulk of the tax burdens. A just taxation system is demanded even by those who are forced into tax evasion. And we are talking of justice not of robbery.

- . IMPLEMENT decentralization in every field, just as the Premier asked for it while those under him refuse to carry it out, ensconced in their privileges which they do not want to give up. But let also those who obtained them, as many as they did, carry out their duties with daring and decisiveness. And the possibilities that were given to prefects are not few but many of them did not exploit them.

- . REVIEW as soon as possible the capabilities and the potential of the nation so as to develop it and let the government stop giving its exclusive attention to the [Attic] Basin and the capital, that trap-city. Get out of Athens, solve the problems of the outlying areas in order to also solve the problems of the capital.

The last requisite, simply and practically, is to carry out the commands of the Constitution about individual and particularly social rights which concern the obligations of the political body, regarding education, work, housing and social securities. And the time for the visions of reform will follow.

GENUINE 'RENEWAL' IN ND ADVOCATED

Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Jun-5 Jul 84 p 14

[Text] It seems that the leader of the main opposition party is not willing to face the truth. And he appears to be gratified by the fact that after the PASOK was exposed to 3 years of governmental wear and tear he achieved an electoral triumph: the ND's following increased by 2.18%!

The question, however, that the main opposition party must face is this: to what extent is this rise due ... to the PASOK's efforts or to its own activities? And if, as many consider it likely, the PASOK devotes itself to improving its policies and wins back the malcontents what will the gloating ND do?

There is no doubt that the secret of the main opposition party's policy lies in its renewal. To the extent that it will achieve this it can hope for some better results.

But how does it conceive renewal? How does the leader of the party, who keeps promising it, view his own succession? It is obvious that at this stage nothing concrete or meaningful can be expected. According to what he keeps claiming Mr. Averof is getting ready to be the leading candidate in the next elections. Consequently, as far he is concerned, the renewal is, in the best of case, a renovation. At the same time it is certain that he cannot but seek the support of the well known line of the so called dauphins, always keeping Mr. Papaconstantinou on his right side.

Did not Mr. Averof decapitate in the name of renewal the entire European group of the ND? And how far did he achieve it? What does the new representation of the ND bring to the European Parliament that is truly new, except perhaps for 1 or 2 Euro-deputies? And what kind of mentality prevailed when the Euro-slate was drawn up?

The honorary chairman of the GSEE [Greek General Confederation of Labor] Mr. Nikos Papageorgiou wrote in our previous issue: "Workers shine by their absence." Because this time also the Euro-slate was drawn up by the leadership. "The presence of a few measly representatives of the productive classes, at an unacceptably low level, since there was no probability whatever of their being elected not only does not justify the parties' mentality and intentions but, quite on the contrary, forces us to draw melancholy conclusion as to how sincere they are when they proclaim the recognition of the workers' rights."

Are any of the other productive classes, which were so hard hit by the government, represented by it only in an honorary capacity? (To be accurate, their representatives were given the option of being included on the Euro-slate. But they were offered the honorary 15th, 16th and 17th positions which they, of course, turned down.)

For the renewal to be genuine, beyond the person of the ND leader, it must not fail to include:

- . An in depth renewal of personalities.
- . The participation of personalities of the Center
- . A clearly defined progressive party line ideology.

Lacking those 3 elements, with the old guard still leading and with Mr. Averof as the leader of the ND every attempt at renewal can be but a figure of speech doomed to fail.

The ND's target should not be its own followers. But the voters of the center who were trapped in the PASOK and who heard and, to a large extent agreed with the cry: "The people do not forget what the Right means."

The ND must understand that this slogan would not concern it if it had the courage to rid itself of some elements which have undermined and branded it.

Lost Opportunity

The European elections constituted a good opportunity for the ND to show its European side. And to promote some new elements that would constitute its framework and carry the conviction of a renewal in depth.

Instead of that a broadening of the contest "on all fronts" was preferred. No "convincing" figure in the way of a renewal was promoted. The presence of Mr. Averof himself as the leader was negative. And thus the party earned the opponent's slogan: "The people do not forget what the Right means." And the "Right" was not able to prove what it really means!

12278

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NEW VOTERS SEEN PREFERRING ND

Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Jun-5 Jul 84 p 19

[Article by Gerasimos K. Apostolatos in The Column "Views": "Aftermath"]

[Text] From the flood of post election reports on the results of 17 June and on the relation of forces between the parties it appears that some essential points of the electoral confrontation escaped the attention of the critics who wrote about it or that they did not properly emphasize them.

The ND followers' optimism stemmed from a conspicuous fact: the middle class did not display its apathetic stance of 1981 and reacted in an impressive manner. Various professional groups - though limited in numbers - turned against the government (lawyers, doctors, businessmen, taxi drivers etc.). Those groups that went into action in the area of the capital made the displeasure against the government and the reversal of public opinion even more impressive.

The followers of the PASOK were undoubtedly aware of the diversity of the voters in 1981 and they knew that their policies and the government's day to day practices had disturbed and disappointed a significant proportion of their former supporters.

But they were computing the election results with a great deal of assurance, self confidence and optimism. From the indiscretions of the "political backstage" of pro-governmental newspapers we learned that all the followers of the Movement insisted that the PASOK would maintain and increase its strength.

Their secret weapon was that they would throw into the electoral battle 1,000,000 select "legionnaires" of the socialist reform...

Theoretically they were not wrong. Very few observers of our political scene had thought that between 1981 and 1984 6 new age categories had been "pouring" into the voting body: the regular voters of 1982-1983 and 1984 plus the new voters aged 18,19 and 20.

All the surveys carried out in the last years showed that only 15 to 20% of those were supporters of the ND. Indeed, from a sample of the fall of 1983 in the Athens area the incredible fact emerged that only 8% of the new voters surveyed were followers of the main opposition.

Legionnaires And Special Groups

As a result of those polls but also of elections in Graduate Schools (where only 12 to 20% of the students were taken into account by the ballots of the ONNED [Youth Organization of the New Democracy Party]) the PASOK leaders calculated that out of about 1,000,000 new voters 80% would vote for the government party and for parties of the Left.

That is the addition of those 1,000,000 legionnaires, in view of the limited number of ND followers, would change the initial relation of 36% in 1981 to a relation of less than 28%.

But beside those hypothetical "legionnaires" of the Movement, the PASOK also intended to throw into the electoral race 2 choice bodies of voters: the emigrants who would be voting for the first time and the political refugees they hoped to lure away from the communist influence...

The emigrants' vote was the "bogeyman" the PASOK kept waving before the ND governments when it was in the opposition. The programmers of the PASOK's electoral tactics calculated that the Greek guest workers of West Germany, of Belgium, of France would constitute a compact massive force that would be added to the voters of the Change and would multiply the green predominance in the 17 June ballot boxes. There were supporters of the view that the PASOK, also because of the previous history of the PAK [Panhellenic Liberation Movement] in Western Europe, could count on the unanimous votes of the emigrants.

By methodical moves, changes of personnel in the consulates and the Diplomatic Services, through visits by eminent members of the Movement, they saw to it that the party "purebreds" were registered in due time on the electoral lists.

The "Aging Body"

On the basis of those pointers everything indicated that in the past 3 years the ND had turned into an aging political organism, the biological evolution of whose followers would also mean its gradual fading from the nation's political race.

Youth would follow steadily and unerringly the messages of the Change, a new political world would prevail for many 4-year terms and would support the 3rd world creeds of the founder of the Movement.

This logical thought process on the correlation of the new powers, on the changes in the voting body in the direction of the Left led to the euphoric forecasts regarding the results of the electoral contest of 17 June.

In fact Mr. Papandreou accepted a contest "on all fronts" because in such a contest the purebred voters would support with greater passion and competitiveness the cause of the Change whereas otherwise their enthusiasm would be embroiled in a political squabble revolving around the Community Budget and the Mediterranean Programs.

The Politically Conscious

Furthermore the government believed that the suburban district voters where industrial workers and the more politically conscious citizens predominate would give a stronger support to the Change: hundreds of political pamphlets, the significant predominance of pro-government newspapers, the deeper influence of the mass media (since even in broadcasts of a cultural or folkloric nature political messages were being subtly conveyed) led to the conviction that the ND props in suburban centers had been decisively undermined.

And The Surprise!

Everything that took place in the 17 June booths constituted, without any doubt, a disagreeable surprise for the followers of the Movement.

a) The news of the emigrants' behavior came like "a bolt out of the blue". In Western Germany, where the PASOK propaganda had 15 year roots and which was seen as a stronghold of the Movement the political opposition obtained the majority of the votes.

Generally speaking the PASOK had been unable to win a larger proportion of the Greek votes of Western Europe than of Greek territory.

b) In the politically conscious suburban centers the PASOK was decimated.

In Athens the proportion of 44% versus 34% of 1981 in favor of the PASOK turned into 40.5% versus 34.5% to the PASOK's detriment 30 months later.

In the 2nd Athens district, the 1st Piraeus district and the 1st and 2nd districts of Thessaloniki the Movement was dangerously shaken.

c) From 11 provinces in which the ND predominated in 1981, it now predominates in 24 whereas the PASOK, from 45 provinces then, is limited now to 32.

d) The 12 hundredth units which separated the 2 parties in the 1981 elections are now 3.5. That is, if just only 1.75 of the voting body had reverted to the ND, the main opposition would have become the leading party. What an unbearable and terrible reversal of the dogma: "the river does not turn back" and of that other one that: "the people do not want to go back."

e) But the PASOK's parliamentary majority has also been shattered. Its 167 deputies - with the reshuffling of seats planned on the basis of the 1981 census - are now reduced to 145, with a corresponding increase of seats for the ND.

f) If one takes into account that the PASOK slate was a slate consisting of a combination of parties and not that of a single party, the picture changes for the worse.

The EDA announced through its leader that it is a cooperating party with its own candidates on the slate. As was indeed the case. The PARKE [Array of The Center] lent the PASOK's European slate its black frontispiece. (It would be interesting to find out whether Mr. Mavros will or will not proceed to join

the socialists' group of the European Parliament or a group of the parties of the Center, in order to prove his insistence...on the Center...)

g) Finally the most impressive aspect of the popular verdict of 17 June is the fact that the ND, the supposedly aging political organism inspired with enthusiasm and mobilized into its ranks thousands of the new voters who gave its rallyes their pulse and combativeness.

At the big meeting in Syntagma Square the majority belonged to youth.

And the odd facts about the election: the privileged, those in the privileged areas of the nation, those who make fortunes from EC grants and European tourism, voted for Marxism and the PASOK: Crete, the Dodecanese and Corfu...

12278

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EPEN PRESENCE IN ELECTIONS ANALYZED

Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Jun-5 Jul 84 p 27

[Text] The presence of the EPEN in the elections gave rise to questions chiefly regarding its influence on the relative balance of forces between the PASOK and the ND and particularly as to whether it contributed to limiting the increase of the ND's followers to 2.2% in relation to the totality of the votes.

The relation: a decrease of the ND's strength (which was the case) versus an increase of the EPEN's strength does not appear to be justified by the results of the election.

The EPEN obtained a percentage of over 3% of the votes in only 16 districts (a percentage that can be described as significant). Those districts are in the Peloponnesus, on the Greek mainland, in Thessaly, in Western Macedonia and in Thrace. In nine (9) of those districts the EPEN's increased percentage was paralleled by an increase in the ND's forces while in two (2) other districts, those of Laconia and Florina, the EPEN's high percentages do not significantly differ from those of the Progressive Party in the elections of '81.

Consequently the viewpoint that the votes of the National Array of '77 were distributed just about evenly (the ones that did not go to the Progressivists) between the ND and the PASOK, in '81 elections.

It appears that the high percentage obtained by the EPEN in the Trikala, Karditsa and Kastoria districts only has influenced the decline in the percentage of votes to the ND.

12278

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PAPANDREOU ENTOURAGE SEEN MORE ROYALIST THAN KING

Athens TA NEA in Greek 2 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] All those who heard the Premier being interviewed on the radio yesterday morning had no difficulty in drawing their own conclusions. Conclusions which are furthermore far from original but undoubtedly extremely timely and instructive:

First and foremost the probing and even "tough" questions of a good newspaper-woman contribute far more to the cause of the Change than the slavish services which are supposedly performed daily on television by men whose only aim is to retain their positions.

Because, for 2 years now, neither the Change nor the government nor the Premier himself gained anything from the persistence with which the news bulletins of both ERTs [Greek Radio And Television] register the slightest move of Mr. Andreas Papandreou or from the excessive dimensions they give to his least, even most conventional, utterances.

Nor did the Change gain anything from the eagerness with which television news broadcast the photographs of ministers each time those same ministers express by some statement their satisfaction about some achievement of theirs.

On the contrary, the Change stands to gain when, as happened yesterday questions that concern the widest range of the population can be heard on the radio and when the Premier, obviously without any forewarning, not only answers them but also admits with simplicity and frankness weaknesses, mistakes and even failures.

The Change also stands to gain when from the same mass media one can hear, as one heard yesterday, the objections that so many people have both about the way they are being run and about their one-sidedness. And, without any doubt, the Change stands to gain when instead of journalists being cruelly persecuted (the favorite method of the minister in charge) the Premier offers to give explanations and confess weaknesses.

While by the relaxed and convincing way in which the Premier answered he also showed something else : how unnecessary (and very often harmful) are those, "more royalist than the king," who are forever ready to dub every criticism concerning his work "attrition attacks" and to call every disagreeable question "undermining of the Change." They are those about whom the Premier had to express

his amazement yesterday morning on the radio concerning inadmissible omissions of the ERT about which, after several days' delay, they rushed, sweating, to offer explanations in the evening.

We have all fallen into the habit of saying that the problem of television is not one of people but of institutions. Yesterday's radio broadcast came at the right time to remind us that the problem is of course a structural one but that it is ALSO one of persons. In other words, even within a repressive framework capable journalists can carry on their work, as the lady journalist carried it out to perfection yesterday with the questions she asked while, on the other hand, people who have no professional skills make the framework even more oppressive.

We can only hope that these very simple conclusions, which the average listener drew easily, were also reached by the relevant government officials.

12278

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POLITICAL

GREECE

ANTI-GOVERNMENT PLOT SEEN STEMMING FROM 2 PERCENT OF PEOPLE

Athens ELEVTHERTOTYPIA in Greek 2 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Theodoros Karzis: "The Absolute Weapon Against Conspiracies"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] When, in a country tormented a thousand-fold by dirty political conspiracies and even dirtier political plots, the word "conspiracy" echoes responsibly from the lips of an official, it is impossible for it either to shine for a moment like a shooting star or---even more---to pass unnoticed and life to go on as if nothing had happened.

Because, whatever we may do, /something happened/.

And this something, despite all the confusion and doubts which followed, can still be accepted through the method of "reductio ad absurdum" since no one thinks it possible for an official government announcement to have been issued to the people in this way without good reason and with absolutely nothing having occurred.

As we know, the announcement, which was transmitted via radio and television on 26 June and was published in the press on 27 June, was unclear in regard to the persons involved, but clear in regard to the facts. It told about "a destructive attack on the government by the local appointee and his patrons" and also about "information concoctions and falsifications of facts," ending with a threatening warning that "all these conspirators have not appreciated (...) the boundless forces of the popular movement and the resolution of the government."

The ND was mentioned at some point in the announcement, along with the "overthrow of plans, which would have been put in force on the day following the elections" if the party of the Right had won. Well, is there anything unclear about the facts or any doubt about /what happened/? If anyone adopts the opposite opinion he would be aligning himself with the Right's interpretation, that these things consist of absurdities and that the Right itself is innocent. Or isn't it?

But we also had a sequel, almost immediately. The "Fotilas matter" came along and following it was the article-bomb of the progovernment newspaper about an imminent manifestation of a conspiracy aimed at overturning the government in the style of the "Julians" of about 20 years ago.

Despite very quick government counteraction, the use of the party bombshell, and the ensuing effort to undermine or freeze the "talk of conspiracy," there remained a bitter taste and a dangling question in the mouths of the people:

What is happening? Where are we going?

Since throughout this whole story a confrontation is described between the government and other, non-democratic forces, and it is extremely difficult for one to know where exactly these forces' tentacles lie in ambush and how far they reach, we will undertake to analyze /what the government is/ so that from the analysis /what the other/ forces, the conspiratorial ones, are can follow.

This government is, for Greece, the first real test of the value and the stability of its democratic institutions. Up to now the Right always had in its hands the "democratic institutions" which were on paper, tampering with them or simply violating them when it pleased, preserving under their foundations a criminal fascistic parallel state, constructing fraudulent electoral systems "to the point of a felony," demolishing, by means of the most shameful possible corruption of consciences, the only effort for an alternative solution undertaken during the democratic semblance (1965), and finally crushing them completely under the treads of the tanks. After the junta's fall, again the Right arranged the institutions for political reforms and again the Right held them in its hands, until 1981. Since then the non-rightist government which came into power has been trying to operate, if not to survive, by moving on the track of the spirit and the letter of these insitutions.

If it survives it will prove, let us say it without circumlocutions, that Greece is in fact a democratic country, not in name only. If it does not survive, it will simply prove that our arrogant rightist history as a North American banana republic is continuing.

This government is not /essentially/ a PASOK government, as it /typically/ appears to be. First, it is a government of each of the citizens who voted for it without having any organic relationship with PASOK. Second, it is a government of the KKE and the KKE-Interior, whose members have finally been freed from the horrible maltreatment of the governments of the Right (the last blood of the KKE in Athenian streets was that of Stamatini Kanellopoulou and Sotiria Vasilakopoulou). Their members saw for the first time the National Revolution, which had been defamed up that point and in which their people were the first to struggle, being raised to a golden pedestal, and they knew an unprecedented political respect from the governing power. Third, it is a government of EDIK [Democratic Center Union], KODISO [Democratic Socialism Party], the Liberal Party, the leftist Rallyers, and of all those disagreeing with PASOK who "placed themselves outside a party," without however being an organ of the right, since wherever the political climate moves today--and they know this very well whatever they may say--it has no relation to the rightist autocracy as they knew it on their backs for decades.

This government--and may those who are about to be surprised by the opinion which follows excuse me--is even a government of the great majority of the conservative and disappointed citizens who recently threw into the ballot box a vote

for the ND, without however because of this thinking about abolishing the democratic institutions. They do not like the government, agreed, and would prefer to change it. They would, however, change it through a vote, not by blowing it into the air with conspiracies or other disgraceful actions which would push the country, in other words its people, both themselves and their children, into a new frightening misadventure without a means of turning back.

When, therefore, this is the sort of government we have today, despite its faults and wrong turns and certain of its people's sheer stupidities, when it has such boundless popular support, even perhaps where not even the government itself suspects, it is quite astonishing that whoever these conspirators are, inside or outside the party, would have the impression that they would be able to overthrow the government with means which ignore the popular will. At this time 98 Greeks out of 100 long for political normality, undiverted individual and group creativity, a better life. Could there be, therefore, two percent, who perhaps believe otherwise, to oppose this enormous concentrated will, 18 years after the lesson of 1967? If they did, despite all this, what would be the results? They would be, I think:

The miserable failure of the conspiracy and the strengthening of the government.

The lifelong disgrace of the conspirators, in addition to all the more tangible punishments.

A percentage of more than 50 percent for the socialist ballot in the next elections.

Above all, the descent into the streets of millions of Greeks, men and women, into a democratic front of /terrifying strength/, set upon protecting with their lives a freedom which was acquired so dearly, and entirely prepared for a new Polytechnion demonstration.

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CSO: 3521/297

SHARP INTRA-PARTY DIFFERENCES SEEN FACING PASOK

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 6 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] Next week Prime Minister and PASOK Chairman A. Papandreou will give his attention to the intra-party problems which troubled the "calm" of the Movement right after the European elections and those which were caused by Fotilas' resignation. The prime minister decided on this before his departure for Czechoslovakia and the GDR and after the unpleasant moments he himself spent on 2 July during the Executive Office meeting over which he presided. Papandreou's preoccupation with intra-party problems also includes the case of Fotilas, whom the Executive Office and the prime minister did not remove from membership, fearing the possible reactions of the cautious cadres but also perchance disclosures by the resigned deputy minister, with generally unfavorable consequences for whatever goes on in PASOK.

What troubles the prime minister most are the relations between his primary cadres, caused not only by the Fotilas affair, but also by the very general findings of the resigned deputy minister about the way PASOK functions and about government policy. These relations certainly had an unpleasant climate created for them by the "revelations" of ROMIOSYNI, considered to be directed by persons clearly standing high up in the party hierarchy. Said revelations naturally created a climate of "mutual distrust between the Marxists and the conservatives in the Movement."

The prime minister himself had the opportunity to confirm precisely this tension in the relations between the PASOK cadres during the Executive Office meeting on 2 July, especially when the subject of Asimakis Fotilas was brought into the discussion.

In fact, during the relevant intense discussion, in which Papandreou had discretely chosen a secondary role, Vaso Papandreou, Kostas Laliotis, D. Rokos, and A. Tsokhatzopoulos ranged themselves in favor of striking Mr Fotilas from the party rolls. They found, however, Chamber of Deputies President Alevras and ministers Lazaris and Gennimatas opposed. Mr Tsokhatzopoulos had, so it is said, a small dispute with Gennimatas, which the prime minister kept from intensifying by intervening personally, thus suspending the taking of any sort of decision about the Fotilas affair.

Those Against Striking Him off Party Rolls

Alevras, Lazaris, and Gennimatas maintained that striking Fotilas off the rolls would perhaps call forth terrible reactions given that those on the opposing side do not have arguments with which to build a case for it being a matter of party insubordination and not of disagreement on political matters, which is legitimate in every party functioning through democratic procedures which are attested to by free dialogue. Indeed Mr Fotilas did not allow his dissimilar opinions to leak out but drafted a memorandum to the chairman of the party himself, who has often been "occupied" due to his former minister.

The new member of the Executive Office, K. Simitis, has also ranged himself on the side of the opinion that it is a matter of political disagreement and not of party insubordination.

It is noted further that the prime minister himself judged his calming intervention necessary since at least two of those ranged against throwing Fotilas out of the party had been accused by ROMIOSYNI as being "conspirators." This resulted in loading the atmosphere in advance.

It is typical that Mr Alevras arrived late at the Executive Office, and after two personal telephone calls from the prime minister.

At any rate, the ROMIOSYNI article also reflects the tension between the two tendencies which exist within the PASOK leadership. The "neorevolutionary" content of the newspaper has been aiming precisely at neutralizing the "cautious" who appeared to be gaining ground after, to be sure, the negative results of the European elections for PASOK. The one inspiring the article is believed by those accused to be a prominent Movement cadre and a member of the Executive Office.

"Absurdities"

PASOK sources characterize the disagreements noted in the Executive Office, especially those caused by the result of the European elections, as "absurdities" and state that "the Executive Office is in the most creative phase of its activity."

PASOK circles made this observation due to an article in the periodical ENA, in which it was reported that the results of the European elections "were also the cause of intense opposition among the members of the highest party organ of the governing party."

As a primary disagreement within the Executive Office, the article reports that the "triumvirate" (K. Laliotis, G. Gennimatas, and A. Tsokhatzopoulos) is trying to "soften" the subject of the election results. Thus it is maintaining that discussion about the reason for PASOK's fall will have to be avoided, and that what should be examined is where the votes "fled" so that "the proper procedure may be followed to get them back."

A result of this logic is the direction given by the Executive Office about special meetings of the entire membership of all the Movement's organizations, to be devoted to the following subject: "What PASOK lost and where in the organizations' areas of responsibility." Not, however, "why" it lost.

The opinions of the two new Executive Office members, K. Simitis and D. Rokos, paralleled this position. They believe that the strategy of confrontation "on the entire matter" did not help PASOK, but on the contrary gave the ND authority (and they ascribe proportionate accountability to the "triumvirate").

On the other hand the government representative characterized as fantasies another article of the same periodical in which it is reported that a "dialogue" via memoranda is being carried on within PASOK at this time, and that ministers, and both government and party cadres feel the need of expressing their opinions and uncertainties as much about the election results of 17 June as about the government's overall course and prospects.

"Among those who have recently, just before and after the European elections, submitted memoranda to the prime minister," the article reports, "are Chamber of Deputies President Giannis Alevras, Minister to the President Apostolos Lazaris, and Deputy Minister of Education Stelios Papathemelis."

The government representative added in his comments that "ministers have easy access to the prime minister."

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BRIEFS

NO PROGRESS IN SOFA TALKS--No concrete progress has been made so far, according to reliable information, in the subsequent Greek-American agreements foreseen by the defense and economic cooperation agreement of 1983. Talks are only taking place regarding the status of the American bases in Greece (known as SOFA) but no immediate progress is expected. While the other agreement, concerning industrial and economic cooperation "got stuck" due to the Greek side's putting off making a decision on the types of aircraft with which it will boost its Air Force. Everything is, therefore, in abeyance. [Text] [Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Jun-5 Jul 84 p 18] 12278

PAPANDREOU'S LIBYAN VISIT DOUBTFUL--Western diplomats in Athens greeted with ironic smiles the announcement at the close of the talks between the Greek and Libyan Ministers of Foreign Affairs., I. Kharalambopoulos and Ali Abd al-Salam al Turayki, that the Premier will be going to Tripoli to meet Colonel Qadhafi. The diplomats are betting that the Greek side will not dare make such a visit in view of the fact that Athens is already aware of what the West's reactions would be in such a case. On the other hand, those same diplomats consider it as likely that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr I Kharalambopoulos, will pay a visit to Tripoli in Libya to reciprocate Mr al-Turayki's trip to Greece. [Text] [Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Jun-5 Jul 84 p 18] 12278

KARAMANLIS-PAPANDREOU MEETING--It appears that the President of the Republic, Mr Karamanlis, voiced quite openly his displeasure to the Premier, Mr Papandreou, during their latest meeting which lasted 1 hour, regarding the government's unethical move to bar his short declaration from television on election day. So far it is not known what excuse Mr Papandreou invoked for the censorial tendencies of his colleagues. There is no doubt, however, that this move by the government cast a pall on the 2 men's 1 hour meeting. [Text] [Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Jun-5 Jul 84 p 18] 12278

PAPOULIAS STATEMENT--A foreign, Western, diplomat asked the Premier before the elections: "Will you leave NATO and move to the group of the independents?" "How could you think such a thing?" answered Andreas Papandreou with surprise. Coolly the foreign diplomat...exposed the alternate minister of Foreign Affairs Carolos Papoulias: "But Mr Papoulias told me so," he answered. The Premier reacted by putting his minister on the spot: "That man does not know what he is saying..." With his reply he categorically refused to continue the argument. [Text] [Athens ENA in Greek 28 Jun 84 p 15] 12278

CADETS' VOTES--About 150 EPEN, around 480 New Democracy and 120 PASOK ballots were found in the Vari electoral district ballot box. And the "analysts" of the results in the parties of the Left--who know approximately the strength of parties in the wider areas of the capital, from the results of the previous election--pinpointed the 150 who voted for the EPEN by the method of "eliminating the registered voters." They reached the ambiguous conclusion that most of them must be students at the Cadets' School which is in Vari and whose students voted in the local electoral center. If those speculations reflect reality, then the danger has not been eliminated for the next 30 years...[Text] [Athens ENA in Greek 28 Jun 84 p 15] 12278

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POLITICAL

SWEDEN

FORMER SDP MINISTER RAINER CLAIMS PALME POWER HUNGRY

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 8 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by Roger Magnergard: "New Memoirs; Rainer Attacks Palme"]

[Text] "When Palme says that the government has been informed or that the government is of a certain opinion, it is not always the entire government but only part of it which Palme selected in that particular case."

This kind of criticism is used by former Justice Minister Ove Rainer to summarize the prime minister's way of informing the various cabinet members on different issues.

The summary is contained in Rainer's memoirs "Makterna" [The Powers], due to be published soon.

Rainer writes that "Palme's execution of power is characterized above all by a strong political will and a forceful, sometimes ruthless, manner."

This could easily explain what many, along with me, feel for Palme: admiration and fear. I would prefer to admire less and not be so afraid."

Rainer's Departure

Concerning his own departure as minister of justice and the gyrations around his appointment as Supreme Court justice, Rainer writes:

"I did not tell Palme about my financial conditions, and that is why I could not become a Supreme Court justice. This might have been the first, and hopefully the last, time that the government has examined the qualifications of an official on the basis of such evaluations. Personally, I believe that I have a right to be judged with respect to what I have accomplished during the 34 years of my professional life."

Earlier in the book he describes in detail the various positions he has held--as judge, state secretary, investigator and general director of Posts.

The Liberal Government

Rainer relates that he has been a Social Democrat for 25 years, since the fight about the general pension scheme, but that he succeeded well in masking

his political opinions toward the outside. On one occasion he was even asked whether he wanted to be part of the Liberal government.

His acceptance of the appointment Palme offered him he describes like this:

"I had the idea that the government could use someone with practical experience in public administration and to some extent in the business sector. Furthermore, I had also dealt with various other issues outside the legal area."

"But no one has asked my opinion in such matters."

Instead, he later on concludes with a bitter note why the choice fell on him:

Limited Selection

"Unfortunately, the selection of Social Democratic lawyers is limited. That is why I became minister of justice."

Rainer also throws a few punches at journalists and, in particular, colleagues on editorial staffs.

He states that for "the one who believes he knows the truth it is difficult to recognize himself in the headlines." The Swedish Press Council and the Press Ombudsman are, in Rainer's eyes, not worth much:

Beyond Statute of Limitations

"The punishment for the newspaper will only be to publish the statements of the council, in particular since the sentence comes so long after the crime that it can almost be regarded as beyond the statute of limitations."

The former minister of justice offers to straighten this out, however:

"If anyone wishes me to, I can take it upon me to work out a more effective way of sanctioning. But that might perhaps not be desirable?"

The Government Has its own 'Criminal Record'

Prime Minister Palme sits reading a children's book about a green elephant during a government session. For that he is fined 15 kronor.

This was revealed by former Justice Minister Ove Rainer in his upcoming book "Makterna" [The Powers]. The government has its own, computer-based, criminal record. In it is noted how much the various cabinet members had to pay in fines.

Triple Fines for Late Arrival

Since the 1960's the fine has been 25 kronor, and the cabinet members are sentenced by the justice minister. The crimes are always committed in connection with government sessions.

Here is an excerpt from Ove Rainer's judgement book:

"Birgitta Dahl was once sentenced to double fines for late arrival. The higher penalty was motivated by the fact that she tried to excuse herself."

Unfortunately, it is not evident from the data excerpt when the crime was committed. The computer had to work overtime because of the frequency of register entries about Birgitta Dahl.

On 3 February 1983 Birgitta Dahl was sentenced to triple fines for late arrival. She not only tried to make excuses but blamed a government colleague by invoking a delayed train.

On 16 June 1983 Palme was also sentenced for reading. But his penalty was reduced by 10 kronor. He was reading a book about a green elephant entitled "Buskul" [Lotsa Fun]. The penalty reduction was motivated by the fact that he is chairman of the children's delegation.

During the king-in-council meeting on 11 January 1983 two penalties were meted out for lese majesty. Bengt Goransson had to pay 50 kronor for not beginning his speech with "Your Majesty."

Sentenced for Lese Majesty

Ove Rainer says in his book that the fines are collected in a fund. But he also points out that the purpose of the fund "is secret, although not supported by law."

When he stepped down as minister of justice, the fund amounted to 910 kronor plus interest.

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CSO: 3650/249

VPK'S CHIEF IDEOLOGIST ON MILITARY POLICY, ECONOMY, PARTY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Sven Thiessen: "C.-H. Hermansson on Defense Policy: New Attitude Counteracts Peace"]

[Text] "If all nations regard military armament as the prime objective, where will it end? The armament spiral is dangerous. It means greater tensions and war."

"I have never believed in the theory of terror balance. What is needed is international detente and disarmament--those two are conditional upon each other."

These were the words of Member of Parliament C.-H. Hermansson (VPK [Left Party-Communists]) while on a sailing vacation in the Stockholm archipelago, commenting on a TT [Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå] interview about the new Social Democratic defense policy.

He continues:

"It is therefore regrettable if the Social Democrats no longer put the international issues first. The new attitude expressed in the writings of the party executive committee to the congress this fall is counterproductive to what must still be the aim of Social Democracy, that is to say peace and international detente."

"The Left Party-Communists have criticized the great concentration on military means in Sweden, primarily because it is ineffective. The emphasis has been on heavy weapons, heavy armor, fighter aircraft etc. We demand a popular defense, which is cheaper and effective. Now it seems as if our criticism might be partly heard."

Different Opinions

"There is beginning to be discussion about whether to continue the emphasis on heavily armored brigades, for example. There is strong criticism also within Social Democracy against building the new JAS plane. At the SAP [Social Democratic Workers Party] congress there will surely be different opinions regarding the defense issue and the shaping of the peace policy of the Swedish defense."

Hermansson, today 66, chairman of the VPK 1964-75, also views the other Social Democratic government politics with criticism:

"The big disappointment is of course that the government did not implement more effective and goal-oriented policies in order to bring down the extensive unemployment. There we are still waiting for the new signals which would indicate that the struggle against unemployment is being made a priority."

"I consider Governor of the Bank of Sweden Bengt Dennis' statement the other day about about the need for new restraints to be completely wrong. What is needed in today's Sweden is not yet further-reaching cuts in private consumption and the purchasing power of the families."

Wrong Inflation Theory

"It is particularly wrong to aim for an additional increase in the price of housing and food, two essential points in the proposal of the head of the Bank of Sweden. Instead, we believe that one must concentrate on a real struggle against unemployment: in part expand the public sector, in part achieve a substantial industrialization program for Sweden."

"What is encouraging about the government policy is that it has nevertheless been possible for us to come to agreement with the Social Democrats about an improvement in child subsidies and before that about an increase in food subsidies in order to keep prices low. There are thus a few glimpses of light in the darkness."

[Question] Is it wrong for the government for example to try to control the parties of the labor market in order to keep wage increases, and thus inflation, low?

[Answer] Yes, we think this is entirely wrong. First, one proceeds from an incorrect inflation theory when trying to put the whole blame on the wages. Inflation is considerably more complicated than that, and it is not the wage development which is the driving force behind the price increases.

Shorten the Work Day

Instead, it is the large profits and the large liquid assets which especially the major companies possess. There we are still waiting for intervention.

It is particularly foolish for a Social Democratic government to institute measures against the trade union movement. By so doing, the force which supports the political workers movement also becomes paralyzed. It is a tragic policy the government has entered upon. A free and uncommitted trade union movement is an important principle which must not be tampered with.

[Question] What should be the first move in order to reduce the, in your opinion, widened class differences in society?

[Answer] There are a number of measures which are necessary; first and foremost a rapid transition to a shorter work day. A six-hour work day during the 1980's could have great significance as an equality reform.

An important reform is everyone's right to supplementary education. This applies in particular to the many with little education. Modern professional life poses demands such that supplementary education is necessary. It should have both a humanistic and a technical character.

Another significant equality measure is a change of jobs in order to reduce illnesses and accidents, which are far more common in the working class than in Social Group 1, for instance. Another of our proposals which should be realized is a one-time tax on large private wealth.

[Question] Might that not be regarded as confiscation?

[Answer] What has been confiscation has been the enormous growth of large fortunes that has taken place at the expense of other people for the last 10 years, primarily as a result of the tremendous increase in value of the stock market. That is the real confiscation.

Tough Class Society

[Question] What do you think the growing gaps between the classes might lead to?

[Answer] We are in a situation where a tough class society is beginning to become permanent again in Sweden. We have many groups which together form a new underclass, from which it is getting increasingly difficult to escape. This group is the permanently unemployed, among whom there are very many young people; it is the many who have been shut out and large groups of handicapped.

There is great risk that the entire Swedish society will become rigid. This makes it even more difficult for the underclass. They do not have a chance to live their lives like other people.

[Question] Aren't you yourself one of the upper class, sailing around here in the Stockholm archipelago?

[Answer] Certainly, in comparison with many other people who cannot afford to go anywhere on their vacation. Members of Parliament are unquestionably among those favored by society. Furthermore, they gave themselves another raise this year, against our votes.

Swedish Socialism

[Question] When, as today, conservative winds blow through society, shouldn't politics in the name of democracy be adjusted accordingly?

[Answer] The conservative winds or the so-called turn toward the right is a surface phenomenon, perceived above all among the mass media. I think we can calmly await the next election in Sweden before commenting on the Conservatives having moved their positions up so far. There are deep-reaching processes which are totally contrary to these conservative ripples on the surface.

[Question] Are you in favor of a continued evolution in Swedish society, or do you want revolution?

[Answer] Evolutions and revolutions are conditional on each other. We have had major revolutionary changes during the postwar era--take for example the technical development and the growth of the public sector.

Within the VPK we are supporters of a popularly elected parliament, of a system of free political parties and free formation of opinion. What distinguishes us from other parties is that we want to break the domination of big money and go over from a capitalist to a socialist system.

This must have a significantly different form than in today's societies in Eastern Europe, for example. We want socialism in Swedish.

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EARLY ELECTION SEEN SOLUTION TO 'POLITICAL SUPERFICIALITY'

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 10 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Mumtaz Soysal]

[Text] I suppose you are keeping track of the 'open panel' organized by MILLIYET. The constitutional clause, governing the deputies' transfers from one party to another is full of weak arguments that puzzle even the experts on the subject. It is clear that even the most authoritative people are not able to come up with anything definitive on the subject. And they are right, all of them, though for different reasons.

Why was the clause, "the deputy status of those who resign from their party and subsequently join another party shall be revoked by a majority decision in the House", inserted in the Constitution? Wasn't it to prevent dealing in assembly seats as if they were commodities for sale, to put an end to government crises deliberately fostered by self-serving motives, and to stop the kind of behavior which has turned politicians and politics in general into objects of disgust in the eyes of the voters?

The belief that all things are resolvable by the Constitution, that it is a panacea for everything, was manifested again when that clause was being drafted. If you disallowed inter-party transfer, then Turkish political life would enter the righteous path. That, at least, was the reasoning.

Yet, this very same clause is now obstructing solutions which might bring some clarity to Turkish political life and introduce, even if temporarily, some semblance of order to present ups and downs. The greatest obstacle to the SODEP-HP merger (for which intellectual foundations and necessary conditions had been present for some time) is none other than the Constitution itself.

The issue is more serious than commonly supposed. It can be viewed as an example of what happens when concepts of constitutional law are unduly tampered with. That is because the limitation in question happens to violate one of the fundamental principles of constitutional law.

The said principle can be summarized in terms of yet another constitutional clause: "The members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey represent, not their elective regions and elective constituencies, but the whole of the nation".

What does this mean?

It means that the individual who has been elected to the parliament faces a large responsibility. It is a responsibility that may require him to disregard promises made to the voters, to break commitments, and to ignore things like party loyalties. The representative of the nation should be in a position to follow courses that are different from that of his party or his constituents when he has to say: "The higher interests of the Turkish nation require that I adopt certain attitudes."

These attitudes could range from voting this way or that, to leaving one party and joining another. Other considerations, such as having been elected because one happens to be the candidate of a certain party, or that promises had been made, or that a deputy behaves in a certain manner not because he/she thinks of the nation but out of selfish interest, all these and others are secondary when compared to the fundamental principles involved.

Thus, the limitations which have been inserted into the Constitution at the cost of violating that fundamental principle would, sooner or later, assume a character that is obstructive of positive solutions, in a way quite different from what was originally intended.

This is what is happening today.

The solution will undoubtedly be found. Perhaps, the simplest of the solutions would be for SODEP and HP to coordinate their activities so as to derive optimal advantage from their respective strong suits: The Populist Party possesses the advantages of sitting in the Assembly, being able to speak at the rostrum, and being eligible for extensive state benefits. The advantage of SODEP, on the other hand, lies in its ability to offer leadership to the mass base of the HP which is otherwise doomed to gradual extinction, and being in a position to make a serious bid for power at the first elections to be held. Such an arrangement can even be considered as a suitable framework for politicians of commonsense to make good use of the present situation for a while longer.

It is, however, reasonable to expect that future developments will only add further artificialities to the already existing ones in Turkish political life, and the problem of striking a balance between the inside and the outside of the parliament will not go away.

Therefore, the only sound solution - after all these artificialities have been recognized for what they are, and the failures of the current governmental policies are fully exposed - is to bring early elections to the agenda.

SPECULATION RIFE OVER SODEP-HP MERGER

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 10 Jul 84 p 7

[Text] Discussions over the "unification of the social democratic potential" brought to the fore at the Convention of the Social Democracy Party, and reaffirmed as a goal in the closing statement of the convention, are still alive. SODEP Chairman Erdal Inonu said that the issue of his party's merger with the HP will be taken up at the meeting of the Steering Committee on Thursday. Inonu said that he "will not be making any announcements concerning the merger before the meeting." At the meeting, it is expected that a decision will be taken for SODEP to make a "concrete move", and present HP with a proposal for a summit meeting between the party chairmen.

Meanwhile, HP Deputy Chairman Dogan Sonmez was heard saying that he did not find the SODEP convention statement "sufficiently" convincing with regard to its reference to the merger. Sonmez talked to CUMHURIYET correspondent:

"At the convention, Hon. Seref Baksik, the speaker of the convention, has depicted the HP as a 'well-behaved kid', while Chairman Inonu has been talking in terms of SODEP coming to power. We are supportive of the social democrat view coming to power. If SODEP is also supportive of that goal, then this is the way to do it, to say it. It has been repeatedly asserted that HP has not performed its opposition role adequately. Conditions are same for everyone. SODEP happens to be the opposition at the municipal level. Why doesn't it put an end to the high cost of living, why can't it strengthen municipal services? These kinds of accusations should be abandoned, and be replaced by common sense and logic. There should be no more cheap politicking. Given all that, I am cautious of what has been said about the merger. I would like to believe that this is not a political ploy designed to send deceptive signals to the masses."

Making it known that he has attended the convention, Sonmez continued talking on the merger issue:

"They say that they are for unification but that might not necessarily mean merging in one party. It may also mean coming together, though under two different roofs. If it is deemed necessary to join under the roof of a single party, then it is the 'HP roof' which happens to be represented in the parliament. I personally believe that it is necessary to behave very carefully at this very delicate stage. What they need to do, provided they are sincere in all this, is to quickly choose their representatives, and sit down with an equal number of HP officials to determine the conditions of unification under conditions of equality, with no bias towards one party or the other. I personally believe that the unification should also include the DSP (yet to be founded), and that under the currently developing conditions everyone should be acting with feelings of utmost sacrifice."

Meanwhile, the leaders of ANAP have elaborated their views on the SODEP-HP merger, talking to CUMHURIYET. ANAP Secretary-General Mustafa Tasar thought that the merger is hardly possible from a political standpoint, while Alaaddin Kisakurek, a deputy chairman of ANAP, said that, "this merger will come about sooner or later." Mehmet Kececiler's view on the subject was: "A merger means a lesser number of parties for us to contend with."

According to Tasar, the ANAP Secretary-General, there would be a great deal of problems in the event of a merger. One problem would be non-eligibility for financial support, and another would be the inter-party transfer problem.

Maintaining that the merger would not be possible politically, Tasar said: "If it had been in the cards they would have come together a long time ago. Compared to HP, SODEP is somewhat to the left in the political spectrum." Arguing that a merger between these two parties will not bring any significant change to politics, Tasar added that it will not make an impact on the government's position either. He said: "What more, I do not expect that the chairman of the HP will agree to a merger. Why should he be vacating the leadership?"

ANAP Deputy Chairman Mehmet Kececiler stated he did not have anything to add to what the Prime Minister Turgut Ozal had already said about the subject. Remarking that they prefer to focus on matters relating to their own party rather than the affairs of other parties, Kececiler said: "A merger between SODEP and HP does not bring any change to political life. It would only reduce the number of opposition parties we have to contend with."

Kececiler thought that the difference between the two parties was that one was inside the parliament and the other one outside. He added: "It is not for us to explain the nature of the political distinction between the two parties. They themselves should be doing that."

Alaaddin Kisakurek commented on the issue by saying: "If they decide to merge they will have to bear the consequences too. But legal obstacles may arise." Kisakurek stated that the removal of the legal obstacles standing in the way of a SODEP-HP merger may come under discussion at the ANAP caucus, and may be decided upon. Maintaining that there is no 'political' obstacle in the way of a merger between the two parties, Kisakurek said: "Parties with similar

ideas sharing the same intellectual atmosphere may come together. One of the parties has an upper structure but no foundation. The other has no upper structure but has a foundation. When I talked to Hon. Inonu two or three months ago he told me that they would merge sooner or later. I also happen to think that it will come about sooner or later. In the past, the RPP was one single party, too."

12466

CSO: 3554/275

POLITICAL

TURKEY

HP'S PALAOGU ON WEAKNESSES IN TURKISH DEMOCRACY

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 19 Jul 84 p 7

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURIYET BUREAU) -- HP [Populist Party] Sivas deputy Mustafa Kemal Palaoglu said the supremacy of parliament was not a theory, but the great tradition of Turkey. "Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity for a positive appreciation of this basic matter in this legislative year. The political center of gravity in this first year has been outside of parliament, in the executive, in the government," he said.

Palaoglu noted that the primary responsibility of politicians and especially parliament at present is to enlarge the area and scope of liberty and ensure its place in the future, adding, "Since the policy-making field in society is small and chances to participate in the policy decision-making process limited, parliament's responsibility in this regard becomes larger and more important."

In assessing this legislative year from the standpoint of the democratic process as well as legislative-executive relations, Palaoglu said:

"Turkey's basic problem at this time is what one may wish to describe as the return to democracy, the problem of building democracy, new formations towards the democratic process and civilian society. It is significant at any rate that we always come back to saying, 'Our course is political democracy.'"

Political Error

Speaking of the dialectic relationship between the social, political and economic conditions of the present, the balance of social forces and democracy and of the responsibility and function of the TGNA [Turkish Grand National Assembly] in this regard, Palaoglu continued: "It would be a serious error for politicians to look upon the relationship between circumstances and democracy with mechanical logic. The idea of restoring democracy as difficulties are overcome and of taking new steps towards a democratic-civilian society as circumstances allow is essentially wrong. It is wrong within the Turkish tradition.

"Circumstances are not a cloth woven outside of society in some unseen place by unseen hands. This kind of exaggerated determinism is unacceptable. We, the people within society, weave that cloth, the society weaves it. And the circumstances conducive to democracy can be formed only in conjunction with the people and within a climate of free debate, growing a little more democratic all the time. This will be done under TGNA leadership and by the people and for the people.

"Turkey has a great and sound tradition, not of democracy after overcoming difficulties, but of overcoming difficulties through democracy, by the people. The great example of this is the first TGNA."

Supremacy of Parliament

Stressing that the parliament will be able to overcome these difficulties through the supremacy of the parliament, Palaoglu noted that the political center of gravity during this first legislative year had been located in the government, however. He explained that this was a process derived from the error originating in the 1970's. "The notion going into the 1970's and during the '70's that there could be a strong executive in Turkey despite the TGNA and outside the TGNA started this process, and the 1971 constitutional amendments and the entry into our constitutional law of statutory edicts are the product of it," he said. Palaoglu said, "When at present Mr Ozal's technocratic quality is added as a political-psychological dimension of political behavior to this fundamental error as regards a strong executive, it is seen as an institutional part of the parliamentary system...as a theory, that is."

Mustafa Kemal Palaoglu said the opposition parties had worked, in fact, very hard and with great sensitivity during this legislative year to perform the opposition functions, adding: "However, the existence outside of parliament of the true political center of gravity on the one hand and the negative structure and provisions of the parliamentary rules of procedure on the other greatly affected these efforts by the opposition groups." Palaoglu concluded his remarks with this quotation from Ataturk:

"Great national troubles have to date found a cure only in the Grand National Assembly. So will it be in the future, that ultimate solutions will be found only in that forum."

8349

CSO: 3554/280

NAVY'S LANDING CRAFT TRANSPORT VESSEL PROGRAM

Paris COLS BLEUS in French 30 Jun 84 pp 4-7

[Article by Navy Capt De Lussy and Chief Weapons Engineer Nicolas]

[Text] The 1984-88 program law anticipates an order of three TCD's [landing craft transport vessels], the first craft in the series slated to be ordered in 1984.

Why a TCD?

The TCD 90 will represent the essential element in the amphibious capabilities of the French Navy intended for the operations of the Rapid Deployment Force.

The principal mission of these three craft will be to transport and land, on an unready beach and in an insecure zone, the equivalent of a mechanized regiment. It is in this sense that the TCD's are original and irreplaceable craft, for the freighted vessels of the RO-RO type can be used only if there is a friendly port to accommodate them.

Outside of the periods of amphibious activity, the TCD will have as its secondary mission to participate actively in the mobile logistical support of the Navy. The "Ouragan" and the "Orage" craft that are too well-known and too well appreciated for there to be any need to stress the important role of TCD's in the field of transportation and support, notably for the rotation and redeployment of the small units stationed abroad.

Priority to Amphibious Facilities

The bulk of the TCD's facilities is designed for loading, transporting, and landing the troops and equipment participating in amphibious operations. To this end, the following improvements have been made to the TCD's of the "Ouragan" type:

1. Much greater speed;
2. A hangar making it possible to station four helicopters of the Super Puma type;
3. A platform adapted to the simultaneous operation of two helicopters of this type with the possibility to use the rear movable decks for a third helicopter;

4. More advanced parking areas (hangar and articulated decks);
5. Elevator platform intended to service the hold and vehicle parking areas;
6. Lateral ramp-support for the loading of vehicles from the pier;
7. Increased passenger accommodation capabilities;
8. Highly developed hospital facilities.

Mobile Logistical Support of Types

The TCD 90 will be able to accommodate in its hold 400-ton patrol-type craft, regional support craft (BSR, RR 2,000), or a coastal tug, to provide basic maintenance for them, and to carry out repairs on their hulls and their equipment.

For this purpose the TCD will have numerous workshops (carpentry, hull, engines, electric systems, electronics, mechanical, weaponry) while the hold will be equipped with capabilities for hoisting and transferring loads.

Propulsion

For reasons of cost and logistics, the propulsive system adopted on the TCD 90 is that of the "Durance"-type tanker-supply vessels.

To ease operations in the landing zone or in ill-equipped ports, the TCD 90 will additionally have a lateral propulsion system.

Arms-Equipment

Compared to the TCD's of the "Ouragan" type, the surveillance, self-defense, and command capabilities of the TCD 90 will be very significantly improved with the inclusion of the following:

1. Surveillance, self-defense, and approach radar units;
2. Antiaircraft weapons (Sadral and light gun stations);
3. Highly advanced command stations, notably for the planning and execution of amphibious operations;
4. Televisual and data-processing aids.

Construction

The building of the first-of-the-series TCD will be entrusted to the DCAN [Directorate of Naval Constructions and Weaponry] of Brest and should represent for that arsenal work equivalent to 2,600 jobs spread over 5 years involving 500 individuals at its peak, to which number it is appropriate to add ancillary employment resulting for the rest of French industry.

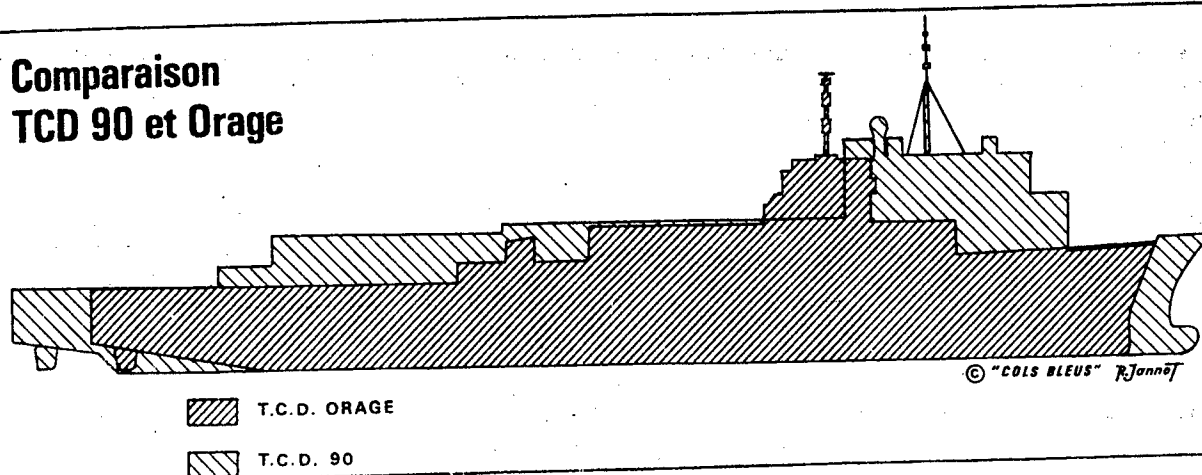
Characteristics of the TCD 90

Displacement	11,000 tons
Length	160 meters
Width	22 meters
Helicopter area platform	1,080 sq meters
Hold area	1,740 sq meters
Vehicle parking area (with movable docks)	1,360 sq meters
Landing barges:	2 CDIC's [Infantry and Tank Landing Barges] or 10 CTM's [Equipment Transportation barges]

Helicopters
Crew
Passengers

4 Super Puma
210
470

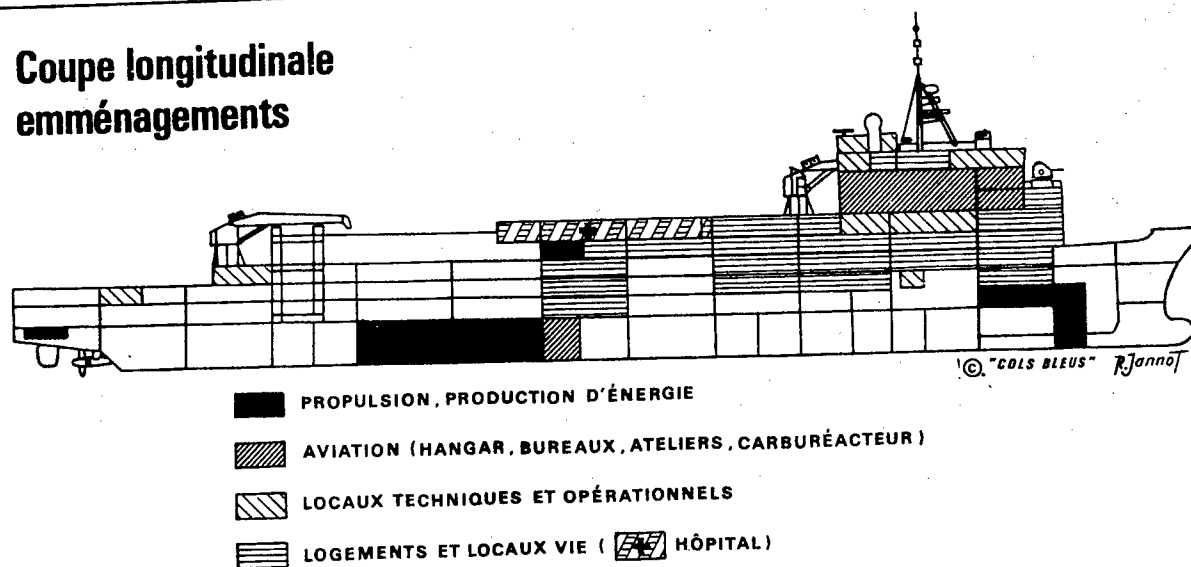
Comparaison TCD 90 et Orage



Comparison of the Profiles of the TCD 90
and "Orage"-Type Landing Craft Transport Vessels

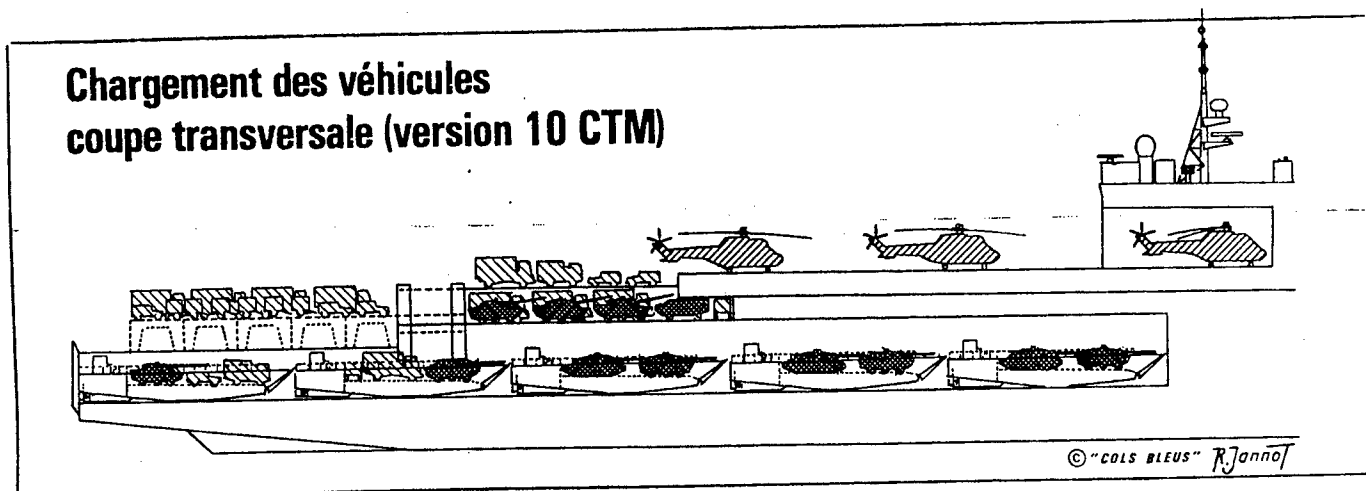
Longitudinal Cross-Section of the TCD 90's Facilities

Coupe longitudinale emménagements



Propulsion; power generation
Aviation (hangar, offices, workshops, jet fuel)
Technical and operational areas
Accommodations and living quarters (hospital)

Longitudinal Cross-Section Showing the Loading of Vehicles (version
carrying 10 CTM's)



2662

CS0: 3519/425

ECONOMIC PREPAREDNESS AGENCY TO STOCK ELECTRONICS PARTS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Jul 84 p 23

[Article by Bertil Ekerlid, Johan Myrsten: "DEF: Emergency Stockpile of Electronics a Necessity"]

[Text] The National Board for Economic Defense (DEF) will ask for funds this fall in order to start a test stockpile of certain electronic components.

The aim is to reduce the risk that strategic parts of society will be totally paralyzed during a blockade. According to what SVENSKA DAGBLADET has learned, the DEF intends to ask for several million kronor for this first emergency stockpile of the key technology of our times, a technology in which there is already a spot market with high prices for shortage goods.

This would enable the DEF to proceed relatively rapidly from study to action, since the DEF quite recently completed a study which stated the following, among other things:

"The development (in information technology) poses increasing demands for the supply of essential goods, and despite strict concentration on and priority for the absolutely most essential areas, the up-to-dateness of the supply planning cannot be maintained. It is therefore of utmost importance that the supply preparedness in the electronics field be studied in more detail and explicitly dealt with in the 1987 defense decision."

But the electronics sector is far from alone in having increased the dependence on foreign countries in industry in Sweden (and in other industrial nations). The DEF study points out that the general internationalization in business and industry over the last 10 years will continue, "despite, or perhaps even as a result of, now valid tendencies toward protectionism."

"The internationally active companies are meeting increasingly more pronounced demands for local activity, and preferably production, in the most important foreign markets. This tendency manifests itself even for small and medium-sized specialized firms, so-called niche companies, which for continued growth are forced to make major investments in foreign markets," the DEF writes.

"Even production-technical and production-economic reasons argue in favor of a continued internationalization as regards both component manufacture and finished products."

Global Basis

"Component manufacturers are becoming increasingly technically advanced and are supplying on a global basis, to companies which among themselves appear as competitors in the retail market. An illustrative example is the automobile industry, where suppliers of components and standardized parts systems are acquiring greater importance."

In the last few years Sweden has entered a period with "lower and restructured growth," the OEF stresses. "Raw material-based production is replaced with specialized and import-dependent production of special products for the international market."

According to the OEF, the rapidly increasing application of electronics in the engineering industry (both in production apparatus and in the products themselves) is a development which has now entered "a very expansive, and thus very sensitive, phase from the viewpoint of preparedness."

"This can scarcely be overcome by means of emergency stockpiles, since the technical development would quickly result in similar stockpiles becoming outdated," the OEF continues.

"This reasoning applies only to emergency stockpiles of components, however. Certain primary products, for example silicon chips, could be subject to storage, however."

The storage problems in combination with the tougher U.S. attitude toward export of advanced technology "have had the result that this is probably the most acute problem for our preparedness planning," the OEF writes.

The OEF's prescription is to combine "use and reuse of standard circuits" with "domestic production of other indispensable circuits," and to establish "an organizational and administrative preparedness" which is to govern the electronic parts for the most essential sectors.

Sensitive Points

The OEF points out several sensitive points in Swedish production, in addition to the electronics and engineering industry:

The dependence on oil is still great, "despite the reduced imports." The reduced use of oil could, according to the OEF, instead have lessened Sweden's flexibility during an import limitation. The opportunities for economy measures are not as great any more.

The iron and steel industry continues to have a shortage of strategic alloys as its biggest problem. In times of crisis the supply of imported scrap metal could affect the profitability of scrap-based steelworks, in the OEF's opinion.

In the chemical industry there were two branches: In basic chemistry (and the refineries) "the production emphasis is gradually shifted to countries or regions with secure access to cheap energy." In the specialized or fine chemistry, "which is generally considered the future sectors for Sweden," essential areas are dependent on emergency products or opportunities for cooperation with the basic chemistry plants.

In agriculture, "increased use of growing methods without chemical fertilizers" could give Sweden "a more crisis-insensitive agricultural production." If the efforts to improve the health of cattle are increased, this will, according to the OEF, provide "a more reliable and hopefully less vulnerable animal production."

11949

CSO: 3650/249

VALUE OF DOLLAR INCREASES JAS COST ESTIMATES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 11 Jul 84 p 21

[Article by Erik Liden: "Peaking Dollar Makes JAS 4 Billion More Expensive"]

[Text] The JAS 39 Gripen fighter aircraft is now 4 billion Kronor more expensive than previous estimates. The reason is the dollar exchange rate.

Each 1-krona increase saddles the original 25-billion project with another 1.5 billion Kronor up to the end of the century. Since the middle of last year alone the project has become 1.2 billion Kronor more expensive, because the dollar value increased by 80 ore from 7.50 to today's 8.30.

The financial evaluations of the Air Staff indicate unchanged basic costs since 1981, but also that the exchange rate level in February 1983 brought an overdraft of 2.8 billion Kronor for the total cost of the first 140 aircraft including weaponry and other equipment.

Now the overdraft is almost exactly 4 billion Kronor.

Various ways are to be tried in order to solve these monetary worries in the event of an unchanged high dollar exchange rate. Postponements, reduced ambitions on the weapons and spare parts side and elimination of 25 two-seater trainers, to be replaced by simulator training, are some of the alternatives. Another possibility is a redistribution of means within the armed forces, a solution categorically rejected by both the Army and the Navy.

Weapons Side

Cutbacks on the weapons side are to be avoided for as long as possible for operative reasons. Among the weapons which have been decided on are the 15 F air-to-surface missile from Saab, the 75 Maverick, Sidewinder and Skyflash missiles, modern U.S. and British air-to-air missiles.

The aircraft industry and the whole group behind Gripen, that is to say Saab's aircraft division, Volvo Aircraft Engine, Ericssons in Molndal and Kista, the Defense Materiel Agency's maintenance division in Malmslatt and Arboga and various subcontractors are very reticent about the development.

The curtain may perhaps be lifted somewhat during the major air show at Farnborough in England from 2 to 9 September, when for the first time since the mid-1970's Soviet fighter aircraft will again be shown in the West, in the air as well.

Just as Effective

JAS-Gripen will have a built-in automatic gun, a 27-millimeter Mauser gun, smaller but just as effective as Viggen's Oerlikon. Electronics warfare, which is under special study by the supreme commander before the 1987 defense decision, means that Gripen will have advanced countermeasures for many hundred million kronor, labeled strictly top secret.

A full-scale model in wood and composite of Gripen, which is to begin test flying in early 1987, in 2 1/2 years, exists at Saab in Linkoping but is guarded by both people and dogs in order that no details should leak out.

Manufacture Under License

The engine, an F 404/RM 12 from General Electric, manufactured under license by Volvo Aircraft Engine in Trollhattan, is being test run in the United States and has reached or exceeded all performance requirements. The weight has turned out lower than planned and the thrust will be at least 18,000 pounds, which somewhat exceeds the fighter version of Viggen.

In a government report the Air Staff says that technically the project is progressing according to plans, but that the high dollar value is a serious problem the closer Gripen gets to the time of manufacture.

11949

CSO: 3650/249

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR NORDIC COUNTRIES COMPARED

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 5 Jul 84 p 26

[Unsigned article: "Finland's Economic Growth: Fastest of Nordic Countries"]

[Text] Finland's economic growth is again the fastest of the Nordic countries during the current year. The rate of inflation is also leveling off at the Nordic average level. Economic prospects of the other Nordic countries are improving as well, it is stated in "Nordic Countries' Business Outlook," published by the four Nordic commercial banks.

Improvement of the economic outlook is due especially to the growth of exports, but the domestic economy of all the Nordic countries is also getting better, state and National Joint-Stock Bank, the Copenhagen Commercial Bank, the Norwegian Commercial Bank and the Swedish Commercial Bank.

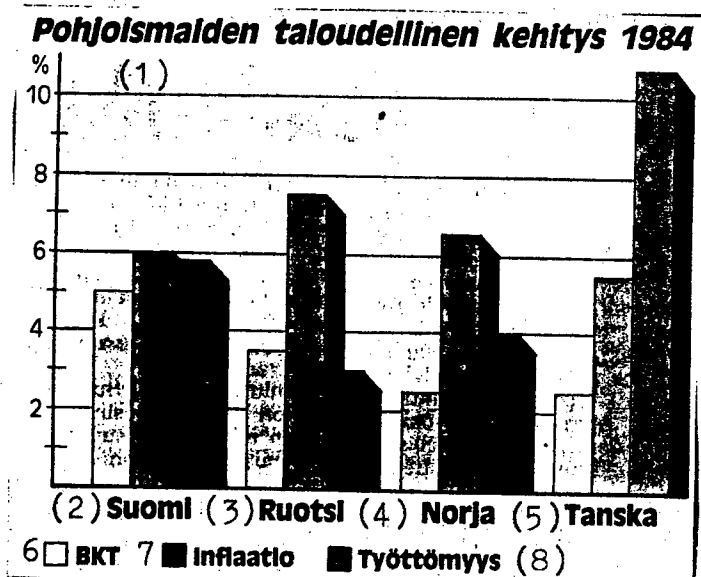
The commercial banks estimate that this year the national product will increase 5 percent in Finland, 3.5 percent in Sweden and 2.5 percent in both Denmark and Norway. The Nordic countries' average growth, 3.3 percent, is in the same class as that of the OECD countries.

All the Nordic countries succeeded this year in curbing inflation as well. The banks predict the lowest reading, or 5.5 percent, for Denmark. They estimate Finland's inflation at 6 percent, Norway's at 6.5 percent and Sweden's at 7.5 percent.

The slowdown in the rise of wage expenditures, among other things, influences the drop in inflation. In Sweden and Norway, however, the wage increases may again be greater than in the most important competitor countries.

The good prospects for exports and the slowdown of inflation have also increased the Nordic countries' investments. Industrial investments have begun to grow in Denmark. Better economic outlooks in Norway have increased investments in fields other than oil. Investments are not expected to peak in Finland until next year. In Sweden, on the other hand, investments will grow 15 percent this year, which is not much, however, after a long, quiet period.

The employment situation is improving in all four countries. The number of workers in Denmark is increasing, although the unemployment level is still rising somewhat. This year's estimate is 10.7 percent. In Norway the unemployment level is 4 percent this year, in Sweden 3 percent and in Finland 5.8 percent, according to the bank's estimate.



- (1) Economic development of Nordic countries in 1984
- (2) Finland
- (3) Sweden
- (4) Norway
- (5) Denmark
- (6) Gross national product
- (7) Inflation
- (8) Unemployment

12327

CSO: 3617/192

EYSKENS ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS, STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 27 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by P. Lo: "Mr Eyskens: 6 percent inflation in '85 and perhaps a new 'Maribel'"]

[Text] Satisfied with the action of Martens V, the minister asks for coherence, consensus and continuity.

He was satisfied, said the minister of economic affairs, Mr Mark Eyskens, at a press conference at noon on Tuesday, during which he reviewed the record of the economic policy of Martens V on the eve of the summer vacation period. Satisfied, but not triumphal: speaking of the "Belgian malady," Mr Eyskens felt that it would be premature to claim victory. And he explained why. . .

Three or four centimeters thick, the report given the journalists by Mr Eyskens contains more than one reason for the government to be pleased with its actions in the economic sphere. Citing in particular the case of what are called the "national" industrial sectors, the minister did not fail to remind us that barely a few years ago this tendency was to be pessimistic. The forecasts of the experts were proved wrong by the facts, he emphasized, pointing to the progressive reestablishment of the steel and textile industries and then slipping in this thought: "There are no traditional sectors, there are only traditional men."

Continuing in this vein, Mr Eyskens said he was pleased by the noticeable improvement on several fronts: stabilization of job losses, economic recovery, lessening of price rises, trade balance improvement, etc. These improvements should not lead to a "politically inspired euphoria," emphasized the minister, who did not fail to point out the numerous structural problems which remain: budget deficits, the great sensitivity of Belgium to the development of international trade, among other things.

As for the budget and prices, Mr Eyskens made several predictions which constituted the "news" of his press conference. According to him, inflation next year will be around 6 percent, and "perhaps less." As for the growth rate of our economy, it will probably vary between 1.5 and 2 percent.

Citing a recent document of the Central Council of the Economy, which states that the rise in wage costs in the manufacturing industry, which was 7.7 percent in 1983, might increase to 8.2 percent in 1984 and fall to 6.7 percent in 1985 (as compared to European averages of 7 percent, 6.4 percent and 6.1 percent respectively), Mr Eyskens indicated that it might be necessary to envisage, next year, new correctives to reestablish the competitive capacity of our enterprises. And he cited the possibility of a new "Maribel" operation--which twice consisted, we should remember, of lowering the social security payments made by businesses, making up for the loss through increases in the value added tax and indirect taxes. "It is too early to come to any conclusions on this point," he pointed out however.

Still in the area of prices, Mr Eyskens was pleased by the consensus obtained, according to him, on Monday within the working group meeting on the subject of social dialogue. Our goal is to suppress as much as possible requests for rises in prices introduced by sectors or business federations and to replace them by selective requests, the minister pointed out, emphasizing that this attitude could be assimilated into a "cartelization."

On the subject of industrial policy, the minister said he was opposed to the dialectic of conflict between the central government and the region. "Synergisms" must be instituted between the central government and the regional executive powers, said Mr Eyskens, stating that the formula for cooperation with the Flemish executive power in the matter of indirect compensation was going to be soon extended to the Walloon and Brussels regions. "The day when Mr Dehousse submits a request to me for co-decision, I will say yes," he explained.

Concluding his remarks, Mr Eyskens turned the debate to the subject of the "deep structural crisis we are going through." The recovery of the next months will be temporary. We should take advantage of it to accelerate the necessary restructuring of our production apparatus. Belgium remains vulnerable: because it is the largest per capita exporter in the world, because its newly regained competitiveness can be quickly defeated if the effort is not maintained, because its national debt allows it little room for maneuvering, and because Belgian politics are marked by instability, the changing of coalitions and 'stop and go' tendencies..."

Mr Eyskens states: Belgium heads continuity, coherence and consensus. Continuity of the business effort, coherence of its financial, budgetary, industrial, and social policy, and sufficient and operational consensus.

8956

CSO: 3619/73

INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS CONTINUE DRAMATIC RISE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Jul 84 Sect III p 1

[Article by Frank Dahlgaard: "Continued Excellent Growth in Industrial Exports"]

[Text] The industrial export in May was 25 percent above May last year and the import of goods has also increased greatly.

The export of industrial products was well over 25 percent higher than the export figures for May of last year and during the year's first 5 months the industrial export has been 20.8 percent higher than during the same period last year. This came forth in a survey of the May foreign trade figures from Denmark Statistik.

The export of agricultural products that has been very slow so far in 1984 took a jump in the right direction in May. The export of agricultural animal products was 25 percent above the export of May last year.

It is particularly the export of cheese and pork that has escalated while the export of butter remains slow and shows a direct regression.

The total export of Danish goods during the first 5 months of the year rose by 14.4 percent in relation to the same period last year while the total import of goods has risen by 21.5 percent. The greatest percentage is represented in the import of automobiles, consumer imports and machinery imports. Here the import of consumer goods and automobiles is of concern.

Economists tell BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that there is no doubt that the balance of payment is already remarkably improved, although the deficit during the first half of the year is certainly uncomfortably high.

9583

CS0: 3613/194

INDUSTRY COUNCIL CONVINCED UPTURN WILL LAST THROUGH 1985

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Jul 84 Sect III p 3

[Article by Frank Dahlgaard: "Industry Council: Upturn Will Continue Into 1985"]

[Text] Even though the industrial production growth rate seems to have peaked, the economic upturn will continue through the next 12 months at any rate, say the Industry Council's economists.

The economic upturn in Denmark will in any case continue well into 1985 and there are still many indications that the upturn can be longlasting.

This is what Industry Council Economist and Department Chief Verner Puggaard tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE as he rejects PRIVATBANKEN's latest economic pattern forecast that indicates stagnation and zero growth in private production beginning now.

Verner Puggaard: "We expect a growth rate in the industrial production in the second half of 1984 corresponding to 5 percent annually which is slightly less than during the first half of the year.

However, this continues to be a production growth that is considerably above the long-term trend and as long as that is the case, it is justifiable to talk about economic upswing."

Verner Puggaard says that it will be the export, the investments and to a lesser degree also the home building industry that will generate the continued upturn:

"The latest figures from Denmark Statistic indicate a direction of massive growth in industrial investments amounting to 30-35 percent this year and an additional 25 percent next year.

"The survey conducted by the Industry Council itself among member companies this May points in the same direction. In the export area, OECD cites a market growth for Denmark of 6 3/4 percent for this year and 5 3/4 percent for next year which is a considerably higher market growth than we have experienced in recent years.

"If we can improve our economic competitive capabilities, we will also be able to increase our export even more."

Puggaard states that none of the Industry Council's economic indicators point down toward the zero-line.

When the PRIVATBANKEN now announces stagnation in the private sector, Puggaard explains that by saying that the bank alone uses the West German IFO-climatic index as an indicator of the total foreign trade.

This index dropped in the spring which quite likely was the result of the prospects for conflict in the West German labor market which has nothing whatsoever to do with the economic fluctuations.

If we here at home follow the normal economic pattern, the economic recession will take hold in Denmark in the middle of 1985, thinks Verner Puggaard. But two conditions point toward the recession occurring later this time:

Sharp Dollar Drop Expected

Firstly, a sharp drop in the exchange rate of the dollar is likely and that will obviously increase the real income in Europe and give the European upswing an extra push.

Secondly, the surprisingly strong growth of investments here at home indicates that the upturn will be longer lasting.

Finally, a restrained cost development and better competitive capabilities can prolong the Danish upturn.

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CS0: 3613/194

NEW ECONOMY MINISTER GIVES OVERVIEW OF PROBLEMS

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 27 Jun 84 p 4

[Article by Julut: "We will Work Together for the Country's Welfare"]

[Text] "The hard winters have given us many economic problems. We must use our strength to solve the problems," says Niels Carlo Heilmann in his opening speech at the Landsting.

"I am glad that these extraordinary elections are over and that we have reached a stage where we now can start working. It is our duty to seek cooperative working formats that can satisfy the voters. We must take the consequences of what the elections showed and we must solve our tasks in such a manner that we bring the community development forward. We here at the Landsting are obligated to work together in the best possible interest of the people of Greenland," said the Landsting's Grand Old Man Niels Carlo Heilmann in his opening speech.

Economic Problems

"However optimistic one may be during an election campaign when describing what the individual party claims to be able to do in order to secure a bright future, we must all admit that the economic situation becomes constantly more strenuous, continues Niels Carlo Heilmann.

The hard winters have brought many problems upon us. Our workers encounter great difficulties as a result of the ice and these problems spread over the whole community economy. It is therefore necessary that we use our strength to correct these conditions.

Total Quota Should be Allotted to Us

"In connection with the withdrawal from EC it is necessary that the total allotted future quotas off Greenland be caught by our own fishermen."

"If this goal is to be reached, it is necessary that the business support be more open for loan applications for the purpose of acquiring trawlers and medium size cutters for cod fishing," says Niels Carlo Heilmann.

Production Plants in Communities

"So far, various production plants have been established in the communities, especially in the sealer districts. There is, however, a shortage of marketing possibilities and the lack of organized transport has greatly hampered the economic goals of the production plants.

"We must therefore on behalf of the Landsting demand that the marketing possibilities of products from the communes will be secured. That can take place through cooperation between the advisory organization and the community advisory system," says Niels Carlo Heilmann.

9583

CS0: 3613/194

OCEANOGRAPHY RESEARCH CHIEF DEFENDS NEED FOR FISHING QUOTAS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 1 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Lars Lundsten]

[Text] "Six years ago, I wrote a controversial article on the need for fishing quotas around Iceland. The only result of that article was that no one said a word to me for many months," says Jakob Jakobsson, department head at Iceland's Oceanographic Research Institute.

As a scientist, he was worried about overfishing off Iceland's coasts. But in 1978 his fellow countrymen were not ready to listen to his warning cry. Most people still believed that prosperity and a secure future consisted of allowing everyone to use the fishing grounds as much as he possibly could. Today the Icelanders have just experienced the first season in which quotas were set on their catch. The experiment seems to have succeeded. Fishing has even become more economic.

Jakob Jakobsson says: "The quota system worked well last winter. It is true that we had recommended a lower total catch, but it is not up to us scientists to make the decisions. We leave that to the politicians. But the most important thing is that the public seems to have realized the importance of limiting the catch and making fishing more economic."

Constantly Rising Catch Impossible

After the most recent cod war, which took place in the mid-1970's, Great Britain was the last nation to recognize Iceland's claim to a 200-nautical-mile fishing zone.

A great many people breathed a sigh of relief at the time, thinking that the Icelandic fishing industry's problems had been solved for all time. The politicians talked about the last phase of the long struggle by the just over 200,000 Icelanders for independence. Now the Icelanders themselves would be able to decide who would fish in their waters and how much would be caught.

Today, almost a decade later, the tone is no longer so optimistic. It turned out that Icelandic fishing could not keep expanding forever and ever. It now appears that the fish population around Iceland has been declining. Iceland's

fishing fleet obviously has too much capacity. An economic expert expressed it this way: too many boats and men are catching too few fish.

It will be a long time before the fish disappear completely, but Icelanders have been forced to realize over the past few years that that particular natural resource is not unlimited. Overfishing in the late 1970's has left its mark. But as was said above, it is not the scientists who make the decisions.

Jakob Jakobsson says: "It is hard to get people to listen to the advice one has to give when one is too far ahead of the spirit of the times. That is shown by the reaction to my article 6 years ago."

No One Listened

In the late 1970's, authorities ignored the recommendations on fishing limits that had been proposed by Jakob Jakobsson and his colleagues at the Oceanographic Research Institute. The combined catches exceeded all the recommendations by a staggering amount. But now fishing luck has turned worse, and the government has had to intervene by setting quotas for the various vessels and banning imports of fishing boats.

Three years ago, the Icelanders caught 460,000 tons of cod in the waters around their home island. Last year the total cod catch in Icelandic waters was one-third less. Despite efforts by the fishing fleet, the catch was considerably below the recommendation for the year. There were not enough fish.

"Nature Itself Sets Limits"

Researchers at the Oceanographic Research Institute give two main reasons for the disastrous drop in cod landings:

"First, too many young fish have been taken, and second, natural conditions for the new generations of cod have been poor. Nature itself has set an upper limit on fishing," says Jakob Jakobsson.

The cod that came into the world between 1977 and 1979 should have grown big enough by now to be worth catching. But it turns out that the cod in those generations, which ought to be taking the place of the generations already caught, are unusually small.

Cod Growing More Slowly

But Mother Nature also has other dirty tricks up her sleeve for making life miserable for Icelandic fishermen. It is not enough that the new cod generations are too few in number: they are also growing and developing at a slower rate than before.

Man presumably has nothing to do with the reason, or reasons, for the slower growth rate. All times are not equally favorable for cod. Factors having an influence include temperature and the availability of food. And it is known that the growth rate of fish varies at different periods. But in any case,

growth has now slowed to such an extent that last year's cod catch would have weighed 90,000 tons more than it did if the fish had been growing as fast as they were just a few years ago.

No Help From Greenland

Nor has the declining tribe of Icelandic cod been receiving reinforcements through immigration recently. The cod that used to migrate from Greenland's waters to Iceland's fishing zone have decided for some reason to stay home.

Although Icelanders like to talk about "their" fish--that is, those that hail from Icelandic waters--the fact is that fish pay no attention to the boundaries that man draws on his nautical charts. The herring boom that Iceland experienced 20 years ago, for example, occurred partly because shoals of herring were migrating to Icelandic waters in the summer.

In recent years, the Icelanders have been quarreling with their neighbors on the Faroe Islands over who owns the salmon. Salmon spawn in Icelandic streams, but spend part of their childless years in the sea around the Faroes. The Icelanders have also been squabbling with the Norwegians over the nationality of capelin. The capelin is a small fish that lives in shoals and is important as an industrial fish, but it has not decided whether it will live in the Icelandic fishing zone or in the waters around Norway's Jan Mayen Island.

Jakob Jakobsson smiles faintly and says: "If we are going to stick to the truth, it must be admitted that we Icelanders are not entirely consistent in these matters. We do not want others catching 'our' fish, but we are happy to do our share when it comes, for example, to landing fish belonging to the Norwegians."

Backbone of Fishing

Iceland's economy depends on fishing to an even greater extent than Finland's does on forestry. Fish products account for three-fourths of Iceland's total exports, and between 10 and 20 percent of Icelanders work in fishing or the fishing industry.

Cod is traditionally the backbone of the fishing economy. But increasing use is now being made of other species of fish as well: haddock, ocean catfish, and capelin. The herring species is also improving. But the shoals of herring are far from being as large as they were in the early 1960's, when Icelandic society blossomed thanks to huge herring catches. The largest herring catches during those wild years were about 13 times larger than last year's entire catch.

Newcomers to the nets of Icelandic fishing boats are shrimp. The size of the shrimp catch has increased twentyfold in 20 years. Shrimp are being landed chiefly north of Iceland.

Develop New Industries

Even though fishing will continue to be the chief industry for a long time to come, decisionmakers and the public in general have realized that endless growth

is not possible. Even the country's minister of fisheries, Halldor Asgrimsson, has let it be known through the press that fishing is experiencing almost insurmountable difficulties. He says that if the country's economy is to survive in the future, dependence on fishing will have to be reduced.

Cod Keep Their Position

Jakob Jakobsson says: "It is completely clear that cod, herring, and capelin will continue in the future to be the most important fish species in Iceland's exploits. All the rest is just icing on the cake."

And cod has been the most important fish for as long as Iceland has been a fishing nation. There was a time when even Iceland's coat of arms was decorated with a crowned cod. Its current coat of arms, on the other hand, is adorned with less common animals--a dragon, for example. But the cod nevertheless remains as the motif on 1-krona coins.

New Herring Boom Ahead?

If all goes well, Jakob expects a new golden age for herring fishing in the early 1990's. The shoals may not be as large as they were during the legendary 1960's, but he believes that they will be just as important in money terms.

The fishing economy can no longer carry the full burden of Iceland's welfare society. But even though last year's cod catch was the worst in 45 years, Jakob believes that the ocean's resources will still suffice if they are used with intelligence. But he is offended by the large number of fishing boats that the Icelanders have acquired.

To catch the herring now being landed, he feels that about 20 boats at most are needed. But the fact is that over 100 large and small fishing boats are contending for the herring catch. That is quite simply a waste of resources.

Doesn't the Icelandic fisherman realize that there cannot be enough fish to go around if there are unlimited hordes of prospective fishermen?

"The ocean has enough resources. But it is being exploited uneconomically because of the prevailing opinion that it is everyone's property," says Jakob Jakobsson, who would like to see a tax on the right to use fishing grounds. The idea is that taxation would make it unprofitable to have too many boats in the same area.

The system of quotas on catches, which was tried out last winter, was aimed at steering developments in that direction. And it turned out that the value of the catch increased and that in many cases the fishing fleet's operating costs dropped. But more measures are needed before fishing will become really profitable again--a precondition if, for example, the Icelandic krona is to become more stable on foreign exchange markets. So far, fishing exports have been subsidized by the krona's declining value.

Extensive reorganization measures are still ahead for the Icelandic fishing industry if the economy is to become good. The desire of Jakob Jakobsson, scientist and fishing expert, has to do with the number of boats:

"It would be reasonable to have about 50 trawlers in Iceland. We currently have twice that many."

11798

CSO: 3650/244

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SUPPORT SHORTER WORK WEEK

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Jul 84 p 2

[Commentary by Ake Lundqvist]

[Text] A shorter work week instead of higher pay--this is a view which is gaining more and more supporters.

A recent opinion poll shows that 54 percent of wage-earners would prefer shorter work weeks to pay raises. Twenty percent of those polled are even ready to roll back their salaries if the work week is cut.

The reasons vary. A shorter work week means a more comfortable life, with more time for other activities--being with the family, pursuing leisure time interests, political activity, etc. However, the most commonly cited reason is that a shorter work week would reduce unemployment. In simple terms: if everyone works less, there will be room for more people at work.

The fact that this attitude emerges not only in surveys is indicated by motions submitted at the fall congress of the Social Democratic Party. There are 27 motions in the category "Work Time," and all call for a shorter work week as a way of reducing unemployment.

In almost all of the European trade union movements, this view is solidly established. Just a little while ago West Germany's metal workers went on a 7-week strike for a shorter work week.

In Sweden, however, this proposal is met with skepticism by the union movement's trade and political leadership. Their objections are well known and oft-repeated. A reduction in the work week would:

trigger a wave of cost-cutting and reduce the demand for labor;

create bottlenecks in work life, with a shortage of, e.g., technicians and other well-trained experts;

be costly to the public sector, where the possibilities for cost-cutting activity (for instance, in the areas of health care, child care, education) are limited.

Certainly, there are grounds for these hesitations. This line of reasoning is, however, fraught with contradictions and is hardly iron-clad.

The thing is that, even without a reduction in the work week, technical development during the 1980s will provide impetus for cost-cutting and structural changes which will reduce the demand for labor, create bottlenecks and make demands for a mobile labor force.

Also, if it is claimed that a reduction in the work week would be too expensive and that therefore that more employees are needed in the public sector, it cannot be simultaneously claimed that the job-creating effects of the reduction in the work week will be neutralized by cost-cutting.

It now seems that a grasp of this is developing even among Social Democrats. Their resistance to reductions in the work week has clearly and significantly declined.

The Party's recently presented future program rejects the idea that a shorter work week would reduce unemployment. At the same time, however, for other reasons, it calls for a shorter work week.

In the interview-based book entitled "Samtal med Feldt" [A Discussion with Feldt] the Finance Minister states that a shorter work week would provide more jobs, at least under certain circumstances--for example, if the mobility of the labor market increases.

And now the Social Democratic Party leadership, expressing itself via the motions presented at the party congress, is placing another obstacle in the path of the supporters of a shorter work week.

Technical development, writes the party leadership, "will make it possible to produce more and more with less labor. These gains in productivity can either be used to increase the material standard of living or provide a shorter work week, or a combination of the two." Therefore, a thorough analysis of the future job policy is needed. This analysis should "devote considerable space to matters of the work week.... The workers should consider reductions in the work week from a broad perspective." The purpose will be to "achieve the optimum effect with respect to reducing unemployment and increasing jobs."

The wordings are vague and relatively non-binding. The undertones are, however, entirely new. The Social Democratic Party Congress may signal a political breakthrough as regards the demand for a shorter work week.

CSO: 3650/258

DOMESTIC PRICE PROTECTION DURING MARKET ECONOMY TRANSITION

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 28 Jun 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Foreign Competition Over Prices"]

[Text] Ever since he took office, Prime Minister Turgut Özal has repeatedly stressed that we will not hesitate to rely on import strategy to head off unfair domestic price increases. At the same time, Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs Kaya Erdem says that, with the exception of a few prominent examples of speculation such as banana imports, this policy can be said to be a successful one.

Industry and Trade Minister Cahit Aral has brought up the case of imports of sunflower oil. According to Aral, prices of vegetable oils, particularly sunflower oil, are being "deliberately kept high" by some companies. Although these companies have been given time to stabilize their prices, they resist this. "However," says Aral, "we the state provide the companies with their raw material, therefore we know what the price should be."

Aral adds that if the price of sunflower oil does not drop by 100 T.L. a kilo, we will then go to purchasing imported oils. The "import weapon" is a measure that can be used from time to time in the struggle against price increases. However, for this measure to yield results, it is necessary for there to be a certain stability in the economy in question. In Turkey, government experts say that they are working to restore an economy that is still out of whack. It seems therefore that it will not always be possible to control domestic prices by relying on imports alone.

To start with, it is necessary to recognize that the value of the Turkish lira vis-a-vis foreign currencies is constantly dropping. As the value of the T.L. falls, foreign prices instead of depressing domestic prices, begin to draw them upward. Today when the price of a commodity in the marketplace suddenly starts to rise, the justification given is that these goods are being exported. Experts, however, tend to elevate prices not just because they depress the amount of goods entering the domestic market but because foreign prices predicated on foreign currency outstrip domestic prices which must be set in Turkish lira.

So the key matter to discuss with regard to setting the external value of a nation's currency is the buying power of a domestic currency at home, and its relationship to the buying power of a foreign currency in its own country.

Up until a short while ago it could be said that the buying power of the T.L. domestically was greater than the buying power of foreign currencies in their own countries. Only in this way could the somewhat low levels of income in Turkey be compensated for. Today it is apparent that the T.L. is rapidly losing this strength. To conclude, it will only be possible to control prices by means of import strategy once domestic prices have risen to a certain level.

Given that we are in a transition period to a market economy, great care must be taken in attempts to establish a level of prices that is based on the international exchange rate.

12698

CSO: 3554/268

CROSS-SECTIONAL PUSH TO DRAW ON PUBLIC HOUSING FUND

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Jun 84 pp 1, 11

[Article by Fusun Ozbilgen: "Assault on Public Housing"]

[Text] These days when tight money policy has made money a rare commodity, the rapidly-growing "pie" of the Public Housing Fund is whetting everyone's appetite. Income derived from a variety of sources such as travellers exiting the country, state monopolies, and oil, have rapidly accumulated at the Merkez Bankasi (Central Bank), and cash flow into the fund is now proceeding at a steady rate.

Big companies, builders, construction firms, cooperatives, and co-op members and credit-seeking individuals have all jumped onto the bandwagon to get a share of this delectable pie. After rules and statutes governing use of the fund were published last week, the question arose as to "how and among whom the pie is to be divided."

According to information obtained from the Merkez Bankasi, the current monthly cash flow into the fund is 7 and 1/2 Billion T.L., and this amount is expected to increase gradually. Initially the fund did not grow rapidly because revenues from State monopolies were not available. However, once the necessary legal agreements came into effect, a rapid and steady flow of monies began and the fund started to attract attention.

According to Public Housing and Public Enterprises Administration Director Vahit Erdem, 6.5 Billion T.L. of the 15 Billion T.L. that have gone into the fund so far have been distributed. These monies were given to co-operatives that were established, had earned credit rights and which had already begun to make use of their credit.

The gradually-growing Public Housing Fund "pie" has given rise to competition among a number of groups: co-operatives which have gained credit rights but have not made use of credit available to them yet, people who want to use individual credit, contracting companies, builders, and large companies. Along with the publishing of the fund's rules and statutes, it was stated that all of these interests will receive a share of the housing fund. However, who will receive the biggest share and how they will get them is still unclear. It

appears as if the apportionment of funds will be decided less by the rules and statutes than by the principles of "co-operation" and "effectiveness."

Leaving aside "co-operation" and "effectiveness", we can from looking at the stated principles and from those waiting on monies from the fund, say that the following will benefit from the Public Housing Fund:

1--Co-operatives which have already begun to receive funds, since they are established and have projects that are more than 50 percent completed. These co-operatives, consisting of 65,000 members, in a communique of January 1983 estimated their housing construction costs at 20,000 T.L. per square meter. These co-operatives will finance the remaining portion of their projects with loans from the fund.

2--Co-operatives set up according to the Public Housing Law, which have earned credit rights but not yet received loans. A communique of February 1983 states that, in order for the 220,000 members of the 3,000 co-operatives of this kind to receive loans, they must finance the first 10 percent of building costs on their own. Depending on the type of construction, these co-operatives will be able to borrow up to 2 Million T.L. per co-op member from the Public Housing Fund.

In addition to these two types of co-operatives which have already gained credit rights, newly-established firms and individuals which can utilize the Public Housing Fund are as follows:

1. Public Housing Builders: Builders constructing housing units less than 150 square meters in size on tracts designed for public housing by local governorships. Loans available to builders will be approximately 50 percent of costs, excluding cost of land. For example, a contractor plans to build 500 units on a public housing tract. At a cost of 27,500 T.L. per square meter, for a unit of 100 square meters, he will be able to receive a loan of 1,375,000 T.L. per unit. The loan will be granted not in a lump sum, but over a period of time not to exceed 3 years, depending on the construction schedule.

2. Home Builder Loan: This loan will be available to builders constructing housing outside of the public housing tracts. The loan will be for 40 percent of the buildings' value, and interest will be set at 40 percent, 5 percent higher than the 35 percent charged to builders who construct on public housing tracts. This is a loan for legitimate builders and contractors.

3. Public Housing Buyer Loan: Citizens who have owned no prior home and who wish to purchase homes built on public housing tracts will be eligible for this loan. Depending on the size of the house, loans will be from 1,750,000 T.L. to 3,250,000 T.L., with rising rates of interest. Buyers will be required to open up a "home buyer's portion" account at the bank. Buyers must deposit at least 25 percent of the amount of the loan they will take out as cash in this account.

4. Home Buyer Loan: Those who wish to purchase a house not more than 1 year old outside the public housing tracts or build their own house outside the

public housing tracts are eligible for this loan. This loan charges a higher rate of interest than the Public Housing Buyer Loan. The Emlak Kredi Bankasi will administer these loans according to the rules of the bank.

5. Loans for Co-operatives, Associations, and Social Welfare Organizations: Co-operatives, co-operative associations, and social welfare organizations can draw on this loan for their members. Size of loans and interest rate charged will vary according to whether or not housing is constructed on the public housing tracts, and are stipulated in the statutes.

The list of those wishing to draw on the Public Housing Fund does not end here. Also among those who are designated as receiving a piece of the pie are investors. The fund will be used for investment and for construction of tourism infrastructure by the following:

6. Industries which produce construction tools and materials, and factories set up for the rapid construction of housing, will receive loans.

7. The Public Housing Fund will procure financing for infrastructure in major touristic areas.

In addition, the Public Housing Fund will be used to subsidize bank interest rates for builders and home buyers who obtain credit on their own. This means that if a bank uses its own resources to issue a housing loan, the fund will make up the difference between the high interest rate charged by the bank, and a lower interest rate that will benefit the home buyer.

Even if, as experts have estimated, the Public Housing Fund grows to 200 Billion T.L. per year, the number of interests trying to get a share of it will still be too great. Water tap manufacturing companies, the glass industry, retired people wishing to buy an apartment in a public housing development, a citizen desiring to build a house on his own land, co-operatives which have had nearly half of their projects completed by public housing builders, an administration wanting support for building touristic infrastructure, large corporations wanting to enter the housing industry, companies wanting to produce pre-fabricated housing, masonry and lumber producers, all of these are waiting for their share.

The pie will assuredly not be enough for all. Who and to what extent will get their needs met will become evident as the Public Housing and Public Enterprises Administration distributes its funds.

12698

CSO: 3554/268

EREL CONCERNED OVER HEAVY FOREIGN BANKING ACTIVITY

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Teoman Erel in the column "Telex": "What Are 12 Foreign Banks Doing in Istanbul"]

[Text] Enter Bank Mellat, the biggest bank in Iran; Habib Bank, the biggest bank in Pakistan; and the Turkish Cypriot Bank. But the heavyweights are the American banks. Manufacturers Hanover and the First Chicago, as well as the British Midlands Bank, are said to be coming soon to Turkey.

The addition of Bankers Trust and Chase Manhattan to the 10 foreign banks already operating in Turkey is final. They have their permits, and preparations are under way.

Chase Manhattan has the fourth floor of an Istanbul building for its Turkish branch.

A Turkish banker assesses this choice by Chase Manhattan as follows:

"They are coming here to engage in wholesale banking. It is understood that they will not be involved in retail banking."

That is, they will not enter the rush to open multiple branches. They will not accept deposits from the public. Cast in the wholesaler mold, they have other, larger fish to fry.

Fine, so how long will they be in Turkey?

General Director Halit Soydan of the Garanti Bank has the impression in this regard that the American banks have not come to Turkey temporarily, that they do not intend to close down as soon as a problem appears.

An American banker told Soydan:

"You will see. The American banks will be in Turkey for many years."

The foreign banks, and especially the American banks, right now are engaging in activities outside the banking operations with which we are familiar, studying Turkey in depth. "Experts from the banks which have opened branches or are even

preparing to open branches in Turkey are traveling throughout Turkey, holding seminars and doing market research." --Gungor Uras, "Banka ve Ekonomik Yorumlar [Banking and Economic Comments]," June 1984.

These foreign banks certainly know their business. While our banks operate on 19th century principles, foreigners are coming to our country with the techniques of the year 2000. They are not bringing in a great deal of resources from outside, but they are doing very good business in Turkey. An American bank that came to Turkey with \$2 million in capital has raised its credit risk in our country to \$100 million.

These foreigners come in with resources they get abroad at low interest, invest at 60 percent in our climate of hyperinterest and make high profits. They also take advantage of other possibilities our market has to offer. They are not taking deposits from the citizenry, but they form interbank funds at high interest.

Moreover, they are striving for a steadily increasing share of Turkey's foreign trade. Two American banks have opened large credits for three of our leading contractors working in Iran and northern Africa.

Fine, so what are their purposes? Why have they come? Reasons offered by our bankers in discussion of this topic are:

--Turkey is under IMF supervision and is following a reliable policy as to its debt repayment to the West.

--U.S. banks are converting to a structure involving distribution of more than half of their credits in foreign countries.

--The desire to have a share in Turkey's large international public undertakings such as the Ataturk Dam turbines, the F-16 project, nuclear powerplants and telecommunications projects.

--The need for prior preparations in anticipation of the resumption of U.S. economic relations with Iran. The hope to profit from Turkey's developing trade with Iran and Middle Eastern nations.

--The hope of cashing in on the Turkish market.

--The fact that the Turkish government grants foreign banks a freedom of action that would frighten many liberal governments around the world.

Shall we take a look at what the results of this freedom will be? Without saying anything either positive or negative, we are sure the results will be very significant and far-reaching. Changes in the banking and credit system have a greater impact on a country than constitutional changes. The influence of local and foreign bankers over the future is usually greater than that of the politicians.

A few years ago at the Second Economic Conference in Izmir, a former president of the Central Bank said, "I am speaking in terms of recognition, not criticism. Giving permits to foreign banks means that the Republican period has renounced the principle of national banking."

We, too, are writing this column in terms of recognition, not criticism...just to satisfy our prime minister's curiosity a little.

In a fine statement up in the clouds -- in an airplane, actually -- the other day, he said that those who were expressing opinions about the price of tomatoes and the economy were ignorant, that our economy looked very good from the outside and anyone who said different was lying. He then asked: "Look, there are 12 foreign banks now in Istanbul. What are they doing there?"

We took this to be a homework assignment and we wrote this column on the basis of discussions of this topic among Turkish bankers.

There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. Pardon us if we've made one.

8349

CSO: 3554/277

IKTISAT BANK HEADS DETAIL REVITALIZATION POLICY

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 19 Jul 84 p 9

[Report on press conference held by new Iktisat Bank directors; date, place not given; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] ECONOMIC SERVICE -- Erol Aksoy and Caner Ersoy, the new directors of the Iktisat Bank following the revision of its share distribution and board of directors, held a press conference to announce the change-of-hands operation.

Caner Ersoy, who becomes Iktisat Bank managing director assuming all authority and responsibility for management, explained that the Ergur Holding Company formerly held the majority shares in the bank and will still be a shareholder, but that control had been removed from this group. He gave the following information on the new structure:

"Looking to the future, the goal of outward orientation has been adopted. The Iktisat Bank will henceforth strive to take its place as a service bank and will stress foreign operations, not deposit banking. The goal is to increase Iktisat's market share of foreign operations among foreign banks serving the domestic market."

Caner Ersoy reported that /no decision had yet been made for the participation of a foreign partner/ in Iktisat Bank, while Erol Aksoy, who announced at the press conference that he was chairman of the bank's board of directors, said that, in revising the bank's shares, it was necessary to bring in strong shareholders and that /one third of the shares may be given to a foreign partner/.

Erol Aksoy, to clarify the status of the other shareholders, said that henceforth /one-third would belong to the Uluslararası [International] Bank and the other one-third to the Ergur Group and himself/.

At the press conference, where it was stressed that the changes in question at the Iktisat Bank /had no connection of any kind with a bail-out operation/, the bank's new general director, Caner Ersoy, made the following announcement in connection with the new capital formation:

"Our first goal is to raise the bank's capital to 4 billion liras. At present, the bank has registered capital of 1.5 billion liras and .5 billion liras in unpaid capital. First, we envision completing this .5 billion liras' unpaid capital. We will call this in. The partners' ability to pay will be instrumental in capital enhancement. In the second phase, it may be necessary to plan participation of foreign capital."

The Iktisat Bank started out in Denizli as the Denizli Iktisat Bank. When the bank moved its headquarters to Istanbul in 1980, it was done with the recognition that it would be reorganized under the name Iktisat Bank. The Iktisat Bank now reportedly has 16 branches. The chairman of its new board of directors is Erol Aksoy and vice chairman is Vural Akisik. The other members are Caner Ersoy, Muammer Unluer, Mujdat Kececi, Cavit Kavak and Cem Cesium. In announcing the composition of the new board of directors, Erol Aksoy identified Cem Cesium as presently general director of a large Arab bank in London. It was announced at the press conference also that the /Iktisat Bank will be a shareholder in the Ergur Holding Company/, which used to be the bank's largest partner and whose former control is now ended. Ergur Holding has to date worked closely with the bank. It was explained that the company, which makes cable for export, is in no danger of foundering and that it likewise has no problems such as inability to meet debt payments/.

Erol Aksoy, responding in answer to a question that his wife, Inci Aksoy, is not among the new shareholders, said the following in regard to his holding 10 percent-15 percent of shares in the Iktisat Bank in addition to his positions at the Construction Credit Bank and the International Bank:

"As is known, the Iktisat Bank's first center of operations was in Denizli. As a person whose roots are in the town of Babadag in Denizli, I have taken the position in order to carry through a fine opportunity and a fine project."

8349
CSO: 3554/277

ENERGY GROUP CRITICIZES MINISTRY POWER NEED FORECAST

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 15 Jul 84 p 13

[Unattributed article: "EAK Criticism"]

[Text] Little consideration has been given to the conservation of electrical energy in the calculations of future power demand made by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. This criticism is made by the Association for Energy Policy (EAK) in a recently published response to an analysis which the Energy Department of the Ministry of Trade and Industry published in May on the consumption and supply of electrical power up till 2000.

The analysis states that a new coal-fired or nuclear power plant will be needed by the turn of the century at the latest. In the analysis two growth models are used. In the higher model the basis used is calculations that by the year 2000 energy consumption will increase by 2.8 percent per year, while in the lower model a figure of 1.8 percent is used. In its critique the EAK now states that, in its calculations, the Ministry of Trade and Industry almost entirely excluded the possibility of conservation of energy.

The EAK also considers that the analysis is partially at odds with the government's energy-policy program and that more realistic assumptions would have led to the conclusion that a new major power plant is not needed. The ministry's calculations of the increase in electric power consumption within the timber industry are criticized. The EAK does not believe that the timber industry would tolerate a 40 percent increase in power consumption. This estimate is based on the timber industry using 61 million cubic [unit omitted in original] of wood in the year 2000. The EAK believes that the industry will be able to obtain only 50 million cubic [presumably "meters of"] wood from the forests. This means that the estimated power amount of power needed is reduced by the amount of electricity which is produced by a 1000 MW major power plant. EAK considers that the government very tightly controls the economy's consumption of electric power through lenient taxation of electric heating. This makes it disadvantageous for the economy to invest in domestic fuel. According to EAK an alternative to a new major power plant would be a small plant which produces heat and power. EAK believes that what is now needed is an analysis of how energy conservation would affect the need for a new major power plant and that such an analysis must be made before the decision to build a new power plant is reached. (Spt).

BRIEFS

CHEAPER NATURAL GAS FOR BELGIUM--Groningen, July 10--The Nederlandse Gasunie today announced that it has cut charges for supplies to Belgium by 15 percent for three months in a bid to fend off stiff Soviet competition. Belgium asked the Gasunie for a 'reaction' after the Soviet supplier Soyuzgaz offered Belgium's Distrigaz a 15 percent lower price. This was the Dutch response, a Gasunie spokesman said. The Gasunie saw it as a sensible move, aimed at protecting its Belgian market while discussions were in progress on natural gas prices and new export contracts. Natural gas profits, which play a major role in the Dutch budget, could thus be protected, he said. Current contracts with Belgium, West Germany, France and Italy are all due to expire in the 1990's, and talks are being held with all four countries on new contracts and prices. The Soviet Union, struggling to achieve natural gas sales targets by offering "dumping prices," already supplies West Germany, France and Italy, the spokesman added. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 11 Jul 84 p 4]

CSO: 3600/47

MINISTRY GIVEN CREDIT FOR MEASURES TO CURB AIR POLLUTION

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 1 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial by Bjorn Mansson: "A Step Toward Cleaner Air"]

[Text] The cabinet decision on acceptable standards for certain air pollutants is a step in the right direction. But, writes Bjorn Mansson, the methods for financing air pollution control should be established specifically so that, for one thing, a special fund can be set up.

The day after the conclusion of an international environmental conference in Munich on Wednesday, the cabinet ratified certain directives, as they are called, concerning air quality. It was a happy coincidence, especially as far as Matti Ahde, minister of environmental affairs, was concerned, since he was able to tell his colleagues in Munich that Finland was just on the point of adopting measures to bring about more effective air pollution control.

To strengthen their credibility, both the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and the minister himself needed that cabinet decision and a visible result of their activity. All the more since--admittedly on what would seem to be partly unfair grounds--they had run into stormy weather with their proposal for a new planning and construction law. There was a great political need to show that the Ministry of Environmental Affairs really does busy itself with actual environmental protection.

Acid rain with its causes and consequences was the overshadowing theme at the conference in Munich. Participating in the meeting in addition to 29 European countries were the United States and Canada. All of them signed the ECE agreement on air pollutants that spread across frontiers from one country to another.

The conference adopted a resolution on reduced emissions of sulfur and nitrogen and a recommendation concerning traffic pollution. From Finland's standpoint, it is especially gratifying that all our neighboring countries and the two German states have now joined the group of 18 countries pledging to reduce sulfur emissions by 30 percent by 1993 in comparison with 1980 levels. Unfortunate exceptions in this instance are Great Britain, Poland, and Czechoslovakia--countries whose air pollutants spread to our country.

Like ocean pollution, air pollutants are such particularly insolent hooligans that they do not respect national boundaries or submit to customs controls. The problems must therefore be solved through international cooperation, otherwise it is impossible to get the better of them.

But this does not mean that Finland should not do its best even on a national scale. The cabinet's decision last Thursday is a step in the right direction even though, as it stands, it still does not contain any automatic guarantees of cleaner air.

The decision is based on the air pollution control act that took effect on 1 October 1982. The directives on air quality do not set any standards involving criminal consequences if they are exceeded. Instead, they simply lay down so-called acceptable standards so that the authorities can monitor the situation and, if necessary, adopt further measures.

The acceptable standards have reference to maximum levels of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide, carbon monoxide, and particles. Even stricter standards are established for sulfur dioxide levels "in extensive agricultural and forestry areas and in areas important for the protection of natural resources." The decision also includes a so-called long-term goal regarding sulfur precipitation.

Typical of the prevailing proenvironmental feeling was the fact that at the initiative of the Center Party, one of the acceptable standards was further reduced in terms of the original proposal by the Ministry of Environmental Affairs. This might be called auction politics, but as long as the environment comes out the winner, it is hard to see anything objectionable in it. Also typical, by the way, was the fact that one of the decision's first critics from among the ranks of the politicians was Par Stenback, chairman of the SFP [Swedish People's Party], who wants even stricter measures.

The fact that the demands for a further tightening up just "happen" to come from the nonsocialist side--and specifically from the political middle--has a symbolic value in this connection. It is not at all true that all nonsocialists--out of respect for the business community, for example--want to move forward more cautiously.

The acceptable standards as established are not binding in a legal sense, but they do place a moral obligation on the community. The purpose is primarily preventive--in other words, the new standards are to be observed when new air-polluting facilities are built or old ones are cleaned up.

If the acceptable standards are exceeded in a particular locality, the air pollution control act already allows the county government board, under the notification process stipulated by that law, to establish binding standards for specific production facilities and to intervene, primarily through the negotiation process, in the case of traffic arrangements. General emission standards are being worked out.

The Ministry of Environmental Affairs estimates that the acceptable standards are already being exceeded in perhaps 10 to 20 larger urban areas, among them

Turku and Tampere. Generally speaking, Helsinki fares better, since its worst problem is primarily traffic.

From the international standpoint, the acceptable standards are regarded as strict. They follow the WHO's recommendations and, according to the Ministry of Environmental Affairs, are stricter than those in any other European country. Only the Swedish and Norwegian proposals now being worked up are at the same level.

Up to this point, everything seems well and good. The problem, of course, is that controlling air pollution costs money. When asked about the cost, Minister of Environmental Affairs Ahde said with a smile that it will indeed cost money, but that the cost will be even higher if we allow our lakes and forests to be destroyed--not to mention the effects on health. He is right, of course, but that does not mean that financing is not going to cause problems.

On that point, the plan by the Ministry of Environmental Affairs does not inspire confidence. The cost of air pollution control, which is expected to total over 500 million marks annually, clearly should be paid by those causing the pollution, meaning industry and other owners of air-polluting facilities--the municipalities, for example. But how?

Par Stenback's sharp criticism of the cabinet decision is perhaps not entirely justified on all points. But on the subject of financing, he is certainly correct when he warns that the decision will amount to no more than beating the air (!) if definite methods of financing are not established.

He recalls the proposal submitted earlier by the SFP for setting up a special air pollution control fund to be financed partly through fees paid by polluters and partly through government funds. The fund would relend money to firms that invest in air pollution control measures.

The proposal seems sensible. The same principle could be profitably extended to cover the financing of other areas of environmental protection as well. After all, air pollution control is only one sector, but we must begin somewhere.

It is obvious that Stenback is also correct when he draws attention to the inability of the Ministry of Environmental Affairs to handle the legal and economic aspects as one reason why the details of the financing system have been left open.

Since the Ministry of Environmental Affairs was set up as a large ministry also responsible for planning and housing, it has the ability to foresee the social consequences in those other areas. But when it comes to what ought to constitute the core of the ministry's activity--environmental protection itself--there are still shortcomings.